

MISCELLANIES.

THE
SEVENTH VOLUME.

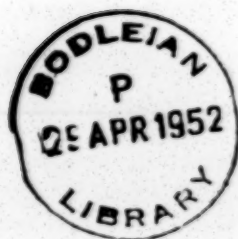
By Dr. SWIFT.

The FOURTH EDITION.



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OF VOL. VII.

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THE

T H E
T A T L E R.

N U M B E R V.

——— *Laceratque, trahitque*
Molle pecus ——— Virg.

From *Tuesday Jan. 23*, to *Saturday Jan. 27*, 1710.

AMONGST other Severities I have met with from some Criticks, the cruellest for an old Man is, that they will not let me be at quiet in my Bed, but pursue me to my very Dreams. I must not dream but when they please, nor upon long continued Subjects, however visionary in their own Natures; because there is a manifest Moral quite through them, which to produce as a Dream is improbable and unnatural. The Pain I might have had from this Objection is prevented, by considering they have missed another, against which I should have been at a loss to defend myself. They might have asked me, whether the Dreams I

^a N. B. The two following *Tatlers* are not in the Volumes published by Sir *Richard Steele*.

VOL. VII.

B

publish

publish can properly be called *Lucubrations*, which is the Name I have given to all my Papers, whether in Volumes or Half-sheets : So manifest a Contradiction *in terminis*, that I wonder no Sophister ever thought of it. But the other is a Cavil. I remember when I was a Boy at School, I have often dreamed out the whole Passages of a Day ; that I rode a Journey, baited, supped, went to bed, and rose next Morning : And I have known young Ladies who could dream a whole Contexture of Adventures in one Night, large enough to make a Novel. In Youth the Imagination is strong, not mixed with Cares, nor tinged with those Passions that most disturb and confound it ; such as Avarice, Ambition, and many others. Now, as old Men are said to grow Children again, so in this Article of Dreaming I am returned to my Childhood. My Imagination is at full Ease, without Care, Avarice, or Ambition to clog it ; by which, among many others, I have this Advantage of doubling the small Remainder of my Time, and living four and twenty Hours in the Day. However, the Dream I am going now to relate is as wild as can well be imagined, and adapted to please these Refiners upon Sleep, without any Moral that I can discover.

“ It happened that my Maid left on the Table in
 “ my Bed-chamber one of her Story-books (as she
 “ calls them) which I took up, and found full of
 “ strange Impertinence, fitted to her Taste and Con-
 “ dition ; of poor Servants who came to be Ladies,
 “ and *Serving Men of low Degree* who married Kings
 “ Daughters. Among other Things, I met this sage
 “ Observation, That a Lion would never hurt a true
 “ Virgin. With this Medley of Nonsense in my Fan-
 “ cy I went to bed, and dreamed that a Friend waked
 “ me in the Morning, and proposed for Pastime to

“ spend a few Hours in seeing the Parish Lions, which
“ he had not done since he came to Town ; and be-
“ cause they shewed them but once a Week, he would
“ not miss the Opportunity. I said I would humour
“ him ; although, to speak the Truth, I was not
“ fond of those cruel Spectacles ; and if it were not
“ so ancient a Custom, founded, as I had heard,
“ upon the wisest Maxims, I should be apt to cen-
“ sure the Inhumanity of those who introduced it.”

All this will be a Riddle to the waking Reader, until I discover the Scene my Imagination had formed upon the Maxim, That a Lion would never hurt a true Virgin. “ I dreamed, that by a Law of im-
“ morial Time, a He Lion was kept in every Parish
“ at the common Charge, and in a Place provided,
“ adjoining to the Church-yard ; that before any one
“ of the Fair Sex was married, if she affirmed her-
“ self to be a Virgin, she must, on her Wedding Day,
“ and in her Wedding Cloaths, perform the Cere-
“ mony of going alone into the Den and stay an
“ Hour with the Lion let loose and kept fasting four
“ and twenty Hours on purpose. At a proper Height
“ above the Den were convenient Galleries for the
“ Relations and Friends of the young Couple, and
“ open to all Spectators. No Maiden was forced to
“ offer herself to the Lion ; but if she refused, it was
“ a Disgrace to marry her, and every one might have
“ Liberty of calling her a Whore. And methought
“ it was as usual a Diversion to see the Parish Lions as
“ with us to go to a Play or an Opera. And it was
“ reckoned convenient to be near the Church, ei-
“ ther for marrying the Virgin, if she escaped the
“ Trial, or for burying her Bones when the Lion
“ had devoured the rest, as he constantly did.”

To go on therefore with the Dream : “ We called
“ first (as I remember) to see *St. Dunstan's* Lion ;

“ but we were told they did not shew To-day. From
“ thence we went to that of *Covent-garden*, which,
“ to my great Surprize, we found as lean as a Skele-
“ ton, when I expected quite the contrary ; but the
“ Keeper said it was no Wonder at all, because the
“ poor Beast had not got an Ounce of Woman’s Flesh
“ since he came into the Parish. This amazed me
“ more than the other, and I was forming to my-
“ self a mighty Veneration for the Ladies in that
“ Quarter of the Town ; when the Keeper went on,
“ and said he wondered the Parish would be at the
“ Charge of maintaining a Lion for nothing. Friend
“ (said I) do you call it nothing to justify the Vir-
“ tue of so many Ladies ; or hath your Lion lost his
“ distinguishing Faculty ? Can there be any thing
“ more for the Honour of your Parish, than that
“ all the Ladies married in your Church were pure
“ Virgins ? That is true (said he) and the Doctor
“ knows it to his Sorrow ; for there hath not been a
“ Couple married in our Church since his Worship
“ came amongst us. The Virgins hereabouts are too
“ wise to venture the Claws of the Lion ; and, be-
“ cause no body will marry them, have all entered
“ into a Vow of Virginity ; so that in Proportion we
“ have much the largest Nunnery in the whole Town.
“ This manner of Ladies entering into a Vow of
“ *Virginity*, because they were not *Virgins*, I easily
“ conceived ; and my Dream told me that the whole
“ Kingdom was full of Nunneries plentifully stock-
“ ed from the same Reason.

“ WE went to see another Lion, where we found
“ much Company met in the Gallery. The Keeper
“ told us we should see *Sport* enough, as he called
“ it ; and in a little time we saw a young beautiful
“ Lady put into the Den, who walked up towards
“ the Lion with all imaginable Security in her Coun-
“ tenance,

“ tenance, and looked smiling upon her Lover and
“ Friends in the Gallery ; which I thought nothing
“ extraordinary. because it was never known that
“ any Lion had been mistaken. But however, we
“ were all disappointed ; for the Lion lifted up his
“ right Paw, which was the fatal Sign, and advancing
“ forward, seized her by the Arm, and began to
“ tear it. The poor Lady gave a terrible Shriek, and
“ cried out, *The Lion is just, I am no Virgin!*
“ *Oh! Sappho, Sappho!* She could say no more, for
“ the Lion gave her the *Coup de Grace*, by a Squeeze in
“ the Throat, and she expired at his Feet. The Keeper
“ dragged away her Body to feed the Animal after
“ the Company should be gone ; for the Parish Lions
“ never used to eat in publick. After a little Pause,
“ another Lady came on toward the Lion in the same
“ Manner as the former. We observed the Beast smell
“ her with great Diligence. He scratched both her
“ Hands with lifting them to his Nose, and laying one
“ of his Claws on her Bosom drew Blood ; however he
“ let her go, and at the same time turned from her
“ with a Sort of Contempt, at which she was not a
“ little mortified, and retired with some Confusion to
“ her Friends in the Gallery. Methought the whole
“ Company immediately understood the Meaning of
“ this ; that the Easiness of the Lady had suffered her
“ to admit certain imprudent and dangerous Familiarities,
“ bordering too much upon what is criminal ;
“ neither was it sure whether the Lover then present
“ had not some Sharers with him in those Freedoms,
“ of which a Lady can never be too sparing.
“ T H I S happened to be an extraordinary Day ; for
“ a third Lady came into the Den, laughing loud,
“ playing with her Fan, tossing her Head, and
“ smiling round on the young Fellows in the Gallery.
“ ry. However the Lion leaped on her with great

“ Fury, and we gave her for gone ; but on a sudden
“ he let go his Hold, and turned from her as if he
“ were nauseated, then gave her a Lash with his Tail ;
“ after which she returned to the Gallery, not the
“ least out of Countenance : And this, it seems, was
“ the usual Treatment of Coquets.

“ I THOUGHT we had seen enough, but my
“ Friend would needs have us go and visit one or
“ two Lions in the City. We called at two or three
“ Dens where they happened not to shew : but we
“ generally found half a Score young Girls, between
“ eight and eleven Years old, playing with each
“ Lion, sitting on his Back, and putting their Hands
“ into his Mouth : some of them would now and
“ then get a Scratch, but we always discovered, up-
“ on examining, that they had been hoydening
“ with the young Apprentices. One of them was
“ calling to a pretty Girl about twelve Years old,
“ who stood by us in the Gallery, to come down
“ to the Lion, and upon her Refusal, said, *Ab !*
“ *Miss Betty, we could never get you to come near the*
“ *Lion, since you played at Hoop and Hide with my*
“ *Brother in the Garret.*

“ WE followed a Couple, with the Wedding
“ Folks, going to the Church of *St. Mary Ax.* The
“ Lady, although well stricken in Years, extreme-
“ ly crooked and deformed, was dressed out beyond
“ the Gaiety of fifteen, having jumbled together, as
“ I imagined, all the tawdry Remains of Aunts,
“ God-mothers, and Grand-mothers for some Gene-
“ rations past. One of the Neighbours whispered me
“ that she was an old Maid, and had the clearest
“ Reputation of any in the Parish. There is nothing
“ strange in that, thought I, but was much sur-
“ prized when I observed afterwards that she went
“ toward the Lion with Distrust and Concern. The
“ Beast

“ Beast was lying down ; but upon Sight of her
“ snuffed up his Nose two or three Times, and then
“ giving the Sign of Death, proceeded instantly to
“ Execution. In the Midst of her Agonies she was
“ heard to name the Words *Italy* and *Artifices*, with
“ the utmost Horror, and several repeated Execra-
“ tions ; and at last concluded, *Fool that I was to put*
“ *so much Confidence in the Toughness of my Skin !*

“ THE Keeper immediately set all in Order again
“ for another Customer, which happened to be a
“ famous Prude, whom her Parents after long Threat-
“ nings and much Persuasion, had, with the extremest
“ Difficulty, prevailed on to accept a young handsome
“ Goldsmith, who might have pretended to five times
“ her Fortune. The Fathers and Mothers in the Neigh-
“ bourhood used to quote her for an Example to their
“ Daughters ; her Elbows were rivetted to her Sides,
“ and her whole Person so ordered as to inform every
“ body that she was afraid they should touch her. She
“ only dreaded to approach the Lion because it was
“ a He one, and abhorred to think a Male Animal
“ should presume to breathe on her. The Sight of a
“ Man at twenty Yards Distance made her draw back
“ her Head. She always sat upon the farther Cor-
“ ner of the Chair, although there were six Chairs
“ between her and her Lover, and with the Door
“ wide open, and her little Sister in the Room. She
“ was never saluted but at the Tip of her Ear ; and
“ her Father had much ado to make her dine with-
“ out her Gloves when there was a Man at Table.
“ She entered the Den with some Fear, which we
“ took to proceed from the Height of her Modesty,
“ offended at the Sight of so many Men in the Gal-
“ lery. The Lion, beholding her at a Distance, im-
“ mediately gave the deadly Sign, at which the
“ poor Creature (methinks I see her still) miscarried

“ in a Fright, before us all. The Lion seemed to
“ be as much surpris'd as we, and gave her Time
“ to make her Confession ; *That she was five Months*
“ *gone, by the Foreman of her Father's Shop ; that*
“ *this was her third big Belly :* And when her Friends
“ asked, why she would venture the Trial ? She said
“ *her Nurse told her, that a Lion would never hurt a*
“ *Woman with Child.*” Upon this I immediately a-
waked, and could not help wishing that the Deputy
Censors of my late Institution were indued with the
same Instinct as these Parish Lions.



THE
T A T L E R.

NUMBER XX.

— *Ingenuas didicisse fideliter artes*
Emollit mores. —

Ovid.

From Saturday March 3, to Tuesday March 6, 1710.

From my own Apartment in Channel-row, March 5.

THOSE inferior Duties of Life, which the French call *Les petites Morales*, or the smaller Morals, are with us distinguished by the Name of Good Manners or Breeding. This I look upon, in the general Notion of it, to be a Sort of artificial good Sense, adapted to the meanest Capacities ; and introduced to make Mankind easy in their Commerce with each other. Low and little Understandings, without some Rules of this Kind, would be perpetually wandering into a thousand Indecencies and Irregularities in Behaviour ; and in their ordinary Conversation, fall into the same boisterous Familiarities that one observes amongst them when a Debauch hath quite taken away the Use of their Reason. In other Instances it is odd to consider, that, for want

of common Discretion, the very End of Good Breeding is wholly perverted, and Civility, intended to make us easy, is employed in laying Chains and Fetters upon us, in debarring us of our Wishes, and in crossing our most reasonable Desires and Inclinations. This Abuse reigns chiefly in the Country, as I found to my Vexation when I was last there, in a Visit I made to a Neighbour about two Miles from my Cousin. As soon as I entered the Parlour they put me into the great Chair that stood close by a huge Fire, and kept me there by Force until I was almost stifled. Then a Boy came in great Hurry to pull off my Boots, which I in vain opposed, urging that I must return soon after Dinner. In the mean time the good Lady whispered her eldest Daughter, and slipped a Key into her Hand; the Girl returned instantly with a Beer Glass half full of *Aqua Mirabilis* and Syrup of Gilly-flowers. I took as much as I had a mind for, but Madam vowed I should drink it off, (for she was sure it would do me good after coming out of the cold Air) and I was forced to obey, which absolutely took away my Stomach. When Dinner came in I had a mind to sit at a Distance from the Fire; but they told me it was as much as my Life was worth, and set me with my Back just against it. Although my Appetite was quite gone, I resolved to force down as much as I could, and desired the Leg of a Pullet. "Indeed, Mr. *Bickerstaff*, (says the Lady) "you must eat a Wing to oblige me;" and so put a Couple upon my Plate. I was persecuted at this rate during the whole Meal; as often as I called for Small Beer the Master tipped the Wink, and the Servant brought me a Brimmer of *Otober*. Some time after Dinner I ordered my Cousin's Man, who came with me, to get ready the Horses; but it was resolved I should not stir that Night; and when I seemed

I seemed pretty much bent upon going, they ordered the Stable Door to be locked, and the Children hid my Cloak and Boots. The next Question was, What would I have for Supper? I said, I never eat any thing at Night: but was at last, in my own Defence, obliged to name the first thing that came into my Head. After three Hours spent chiefly in Apologies for my Entertainment, insinuating to me, "That this was the worst time of the Year for Provisions; that they were at a great Distance from any Market; that they were afraid I should be starved; and that they knew they kept me to my Loss;" the Lady went, and left me to her Husband (for they took special Care I should never be alone :) As soon as her Back was turned, the little Misses run backwards and forwards every Moment, and constantly as they came in or went out made a Courtesy directly at me, which in Good Manners I was forced to return with a Bow and *Your humble Servant, pretty Miss*. Exactly at Eight the Mother came up, and discovered by the Redness of her Face, that Supper was not far off. It was twice as large as the Dinner, and my Persecution doubled in Proportion. I desired at my usual Hour to go to my Repose, and was conducted to my Chamber by the Gentleman, his Lady, and the whole Train of Children. They importuned me to drink something before I went to bed; and, upon my refusing, at last left a Bottle of *Stingo*, as they called it, for fear I should wake and be thirsty in the Night. I was forced in the Morning to rise and dress myself in the Dark, because they would not suffer my Kinsman's Servant to disturb me at the Hour I desired to be called. I was now resolved to break through all Measures to get away, and after sitting down to a monstrous Breakfast of cold Beef, Mutton, Neats Tongues,

Tongues, Venison Pasty, and stale Beer, took leave of the Family. But the Gentleman would needs see the Part of my Way, and carry me a short Cut through his own Grounds, which he told me would save half a Mile's Riding. This last Piece of Civility had like to have cost me dear, being once or twice in danger of my Neck by leaping over his Ditches, and at last forced to alight in the Dirt, when my Horse, having slipped his Bridle, ran away, and took us up more than an Hour to recover him again.

It is evident that none of the Absurdities I met with in this Visit, proceeded from an ill Intention, but from a wrong Judgment of Complaisance, and a Misapplication in the Rules of it. I cannot so easily excuse the more refined Criticks upon Behaviour, who, having professed no other Study, are yet infinitely defective in the most material Parts of it. *Ned Fashion* hath been bred all his Life about Court, and understands to a Tittle all the Punctilios of a Drawing-Room. He visits most of the fine Women near *St. James's*, and upon every Occasion says the civilest and softest things to them of any Man breathing. To Mr. *Isaac*^a he owes an easy Slide in his Bow, and a graceful Manner of coming into a Room; But in some other Cases he is very far from being a well-bred Person. He laughs at Men of far superior Understanding to his own, for not being as well dressed as himself; despiseth all his Acquaintance who are not of Quality, and in publick Places hath, on that Account, often avoided taking notice of some among the best Speakers of the House of Commons. He railleth strenuously at both Universities before the Members of either; and is never heard to swear an Oath, or break in upon Religion and Mo-

^a A famous Dancing-Master in those Days.

rality, except in the Company of Divines. On the other hand, a Man of right Sense hath all the Essentials of Good Breeding, although he may be wanting in the Forms of it. *Horatio* hath spent most of his Time at *Oxford*: He hath a great deal of Learning, an agreeable Wit, and as much Modesty as may serve to adorn, without concealing his other good Qualities. In that retired Way of living he seemeth to have formed a Notion of human Nature as he hath found it described in the Writings of the greatest Men, not as he is likely to meet with it in the common Course of Life. Hence it is that he giveth no Offence, but converseth with great Deference, Candor, and Humanity. His Bow, I must confess, is somewhat aukward, but then he hath an extensive, universal, and unaffected Knowledge, which may perhaps a little excuse him. He would make no extraordinary Figure at a Ball, but I can assure the Ladies in his behalf, and for their own Consolation, that he has writ better Verses on the Sex than any Man now living, and is preparing such a Poem for the Press as will transmit their Praises and his own to many Generations.



THE
TATLER.

NUMBER CCXXX.

Thursday, September 28, 1710.

From my own Apartment, September 27.

THE following Letter hath laid before me many great and manifest Evils in the World of Letters, which I had overlooked; but it opens to me a very busy Scene, and it will require no small Care and Application to amend Errors which are become so universal. The Affectation of Politeness is exposed in this Epistle with a great deal of Wit and Discernment; so that, whatever Discourses I may fall into hereafter upon the Subjects the Writer treats of, I shall at present lay the Matter before the World

^a The Letter to the Lord High Treasurer upon the same Subject with this *Tatler*, is printed in the first Volume of these *Miscellanies*. It is said that the Author writ some other *Tatlers* and several *Spectators*, and furnished Hints for many more; particularly *The Tables of Fame*, *The Life and Adventures of a Shilling*, *The Account of England by an Indian King*, and some others: but, as we are informed, he would never tell his best Friends the particular Papers. *Dublin Ed.*

without

without the least Alteration from the Words of my Correspondent.

“ TO ISAAC BICKERSTAFF, Esq;

“ SIR,

“ THERE are some Abuses among us of great
“ Consequence, the Reformation of which is proper-
“ ly your Province ; although, as far as I have been
“ conversant in your Papers, you have not yet con-
“ sidered them. These are the deplorable Ignorance
“ that for some Years hath reigned among our *Eng-*
“ *lish* Writers, the great Depravity of our Taste,
“ and the continual Corruption of our Style. I say
“ nothing here of those who handle particular Sci-
“ ences, Divinity, Law, Physic, and the like ;
“ I mean the Traders in History and Politicks, and
“ the *Belles Lettres*, together with those by whom
“ Books are not translated, but (as the common
“ Expressions are) *done out of French, Latin, or o-*
“ *ther Language*, and *made English*. I cannot but
“ observe to you, that, until of late Years, a *Grub-*
“ *street* Book was always bound in Sheep-skin, with
“ suitable Print and Paper, the Price never above
“ a Shilling, and taken off wholly by common
“ Tradesmen or Country Pedlars ; but now they ap-
“ pear in all Sizes and Shapes, and in all Places ;
“ they are handed about from Lapfulls in every Cof-
“ fee-house to Persons of Quality ; are shewn in
“ *Westminster-Hall*, and the *Court of Requests* ; you
“ may see them gilt and in Royal Paper, of five or
“ six hundred Pages, and rated accordingly. I
“ would engage to furnish you with a Catalogue of
“ *English* Books, published within the Compass of
“ seven Years past, which at the first Hand would
“ cost you an hundred Pounds, wherein you shall not
“ be

"be able to find ten Lines together of common Grammar or common Sense.

"THESE two Evils, Ignorance and Want of Taste, have produced a third; I mean the continual Corruption of our *English* Tongue; which, without some timely Remedy, will suffer more by the false Refinements of twenty Years past than it hath been improved in the foregoing hundred. And this is what I design chiefly to enlarge upon, leaving the former Evils to your Animadversion.

"BUT instead of giving you a List of the late Refinements crept into our Language, I here send you the Copy of a Letter I received some time ago from a most accomplished Person in this Way of Writing, upon which I shall make some Remarks. It is in these Terms :

S I R,

I Cou'dn't get the Things you sent for all about Town—— I tho't to ha' come down myself, and then I'd ha' bro't 'um; but ha'nt don't, and I believe I can't do't, that's pozz —— Tom begins to g'imself Airs, because ha's going with the Plenipo's.—— 'Tis said the French King will bamboozel us agen, which causes many Speculations. The Jacks, and others of that Kidney are very uppish and alert upon't, as you may see by their Phizz's —— Will Hazard has got the Hipps, having lost to the Tune of five hundr'd Pound, tho' he understands Play very well, no Body better. He has promis't me upon Rep to leave off Play; but you know 'tis a Weakness he's too apt to give into, tho' he has as much Wit as any Man, no body more: He has lain incog. ever since—— The Mob's very quiet with us now.—— I believe you tho't I banter'd you in my last like a Country Put.—— I shan't leave Town this Month, &c.

T H I S

“ THIS Letter is in every Point an admirable
“ Pattern of the present polite Way of Writing ;
“ nor is it of less Authority for being an Epistle :
“ You may gather every Flower of it, with a
“ Thousand more of equal Sweetness, from the
“ Books, Pamphlets, and single Papers, offered us
“ every Day in the Coffee-houses. And these are
“ the Beauties introduced to supply the Want of
“ Wit, Sense, Humour, and Learning, which formerly
“ were looked upon as Qualifications for a
“ Writer. If a Man of Wit, who died Forty Years
“ ago, were to rise from the Grave on purpose,
“ how would he be able to read this Letter ? And
“ after he had got through that Difficulty, how
“ would he be able to understand it ? The first
“ Thing that strikes your Eye, is the *Breaks* at the
“ End of almost every Sentence ; of which I know
“ not the Use, only that it is a Refinement, and very
“ frequently practised. Then you will observe the
“ Abbreviations and Elisions, by which Consonants
“ of most obdurate Sounds are joined together without
“ one softening Vowel to intervene : And all
“ this only to make one Syllable of two, directly
“ contrary to the Example of the *Greeks* and *Roman* ;
“ altogether of the *Gothic* Strain, and of a natural
“ Tendency towards relapsing into Barbarity,
“ which delights in Monosyllables, and uniting of
“ mute Consonants ; as it is observable in all the
“ *Northern* Languages. And this is still more visible
“ in the next Refinement, which consisteth in
“ pronouncing the first Syllable in a Word that
“ hath many, and dismissing the rest ; such as *Phizz*,
“ *Hipps*, *Mobb*, *Pozz*, *Rep*, and many more ; when
“ we are already over-loaded with Monosyllables,
“ which are the Disgrace of our Language. Thus
“ we cram one Syllable, and cut off the rest ; as the
VOL. VII. C “ Ow!

“ Owl fattened her Mice, after she had bit off their
 “ Legs to prevent them from running away; and
 “ if ours be the same Reason for maiming of Words,
 “ it will certainly answer the End; for I am sure
 “ no other Nation will desire to borrow them. Some
 “ Words are hitherto but fairly split, and therefore
 “ only in their way to Perfection, as *Incog.* and *Ple-*
 “ *nipo*; but in a short time, it is to be hoped, they
 “ will be further docked to *Inc.* and *Plen.* This Re-
 “ flection hath made me, of late Years, very impa-
 “ tient for a Peace, which I believe would save the
 “ Lives of many brave Words as well as Men. The
 “ War hath introduced abundance of Polysyllables,
 “ which will never be able to live many more Cam-
 “ paigns. *Speculations, Operations, Preliminaries,*
 “ *Ambassadors, Palisadoes, Communications, Circum-*
 “ *vallations, Battalions,* as numerous as they are, if
 “ they attack us too frequently in our Coffee-houses,
 “ we shall certainly put them to flight, and cut off
 “ their Rear.

“ THE third Refinement, observable in the Letter
 “ I send you, consisteth in the Choice of certain
 “ Words, invented by some *pretty Fellows*, such as
 “ *Banter, Bamboozle, Country Put, and Kidney*, as
 “ it is there applied; some of which are now strug-
 “ gling for the Vogue, and others are in Possession
 “ of it. I have done my utmost for some Years past
 “ to stop the Progress of *Mob* and *Banter*, but have
 “ been plainly bore down by Numbers, and betrayed
 “ by those who promised to assist me.

“ IN the last place you are to take Notice of cer-
 “ tain choice Phrases scattered through the Letter;
 “ some of them tolerable enough, till they were worn
 “ to rags by servile Imitators. You might easily find
 “ them, although they were not in a different Print,
 “ and therefore I need not disturb them.

“ THESE

“THESE are the false Refinements in our Style,
 “which you ought to correct; first, by Arguments
 “and fair Means; but if those fail, I think you are
 “to make use of your Authority as Censor, and by an
 “annual *Index expurgatorius*, expunge all Words
 “and Phrases that are offensive to good Sense, and
 “condemn those barbarous Mutilations of Vowels and
 “Syllables. In this last Point the usual Pretence is,
 “that they spell as they speak: A noble Standard for
 “Language! to depend upon the Caprice of every
 “Coxcomb, who, because Words are the Cloathing
 “of our Thoughts, cuts them out, and shapes them
 “as he pleaseth, and changes them oftner than his
 “Dress. I believe all reasonable People would be
 “content that such Refiners were more sparing of
 “their Words, and liberal in their Syllables. On
 “this Head I should be glad you would bestow some
 “Advice upon several young Readers in our Churches,
 “who, coming up from the University full fraught
 “with Admiration of our Town Politeness, will
 “needs correct the Style of their Prayer Books. In
 “reading the Absolution they are very careful to say
 “*pardons and absolves*, and in the Prayer for the
 “Royal Family it must be *endue’um, enrich’um, prof-*
 “*per’um*, and *bring’um*; then in their Sermons they
 “use all the modern Terms of Art, *Sham, Banter,*
 “*Mob, Bubble, Bully, Cutting, Shuffling, and Palming:*
 “All which, and many more of the like Stamp, as
 “I have often heard them in the Pulpit from some
 “young Sophisters, so I have read them in some of
 “*those Sermons that have made a great Noise of late.*
 “The Design, it seems, is to avoid the dreadful Im-
 “putation of Pedantry; to shew us that they *know*
 “*the Town, understand Men and Manners*, and have
 “not been poring upon old unfashionable Books in
 “the University.

" I SHOULD be glad to see you the Instrument
 " of introducing into our Style that Simplicity
 " which is the best and truest Ornament of most
 " Things in human Life, which the politer Ages al-
 " ways aimed at in their Building and Drefs (*Sim-*
 " *plex munditiis*) as well as their Productions of Wit.
 " It is manifest that all new affected Modes of Speech,
 " whether borrowed from the Court, the Town, or
 " the Theatre, are the first perishing Parts in any
 " Language; and, as I could prove by many hun-
 " dred Instances, have been so in ours. The Writ-
 " ings of *Hooker*, who was a Country Clergyman,
 " and of *Parsons* the Jesuit, both in the Reign of
 " Queen *Elizabeth*, are in a Style, that, with very
 " few Allowances, would not offend any present
 " Reader; much more clear and intelligible than
 " those of Sir *H. Wotton*, Sir *Robert Naunton*, *Of-*
 " *born*, *Daniel* the Historian, and several others who
 " writ later; but being Men of the Court, and af-
 " fecting the Phrases then in fashion, they are often
 " either not to be understood or appear perfectly
 " ridiculous.

" WHAT Remedies are to be applied to these
 " Evils I have not room to consider, having, I fear,
 " already taken up most of your Paper: Besides, I
 " think it is our Office only to represent Abuses, and
 " yours to redress them.

" I am, with great Respect,

" Sir,

" Yours," &c.

T H E

THE
EXAMINER^a.

NUMBER. XIII.

Thursday, November 2, 1710.

*Longa est infuria, longæ
Ambages, sed summa sequar fastigia rerum.*

IT is a Practice I have generally followed, to converse in equal Freedom with the deserving Men of both Parties; and it was never without some Contempt that I have observed Persons, wholly out

^a In the Month of *August*, 1710, a weekly Paper, called *The Examiner*, began to be published, esteemed to be the Work of several eminent Hands, among which were reckoned my Lord *Bolingbroke*, Dr. *Atterbury*, afterwards Bishop of *Rochester*, Mr. *Prior*, and some others. However it came about, the general Opinion is, that those Persons proceeded no further than to the first twelve Papers; after which, it seems to be agreed that the Undertaking was carried on by the Author of these Volumes, who began with Number XIII. and ended at Number L. For although the Paper continued many Months after to be published, under the Title of *The Examiner*, yet by the Inequality of the Performance it was manifest to all judicious Persons, that the aforesaid supposed Authors had not the least Share in them.

of Employment, affect to do otherwise. I doubted whether any Man could owe so much to the Side he was of, although he were retained by it; but without some great Point of Interest, either in Possession or Prospect, I thought it was the Mark of a low and narrow Spirit.

It is hard, that for some Weeks past I have been forced, in my own Defence, to follow a Proceeding that I have so much condemned in others. But several of my Acquaintance, among the declining Party, are grown so insufferably peevish and splenetick, profess such violent Apprehensions for the Publick, and represent the State of Things in such formidable Ideas, that I find myself disposed to share in their Afflictions; although I know them to be groundless and imaginary; or, which is worse, purely affected. To offer them Comfort one by one, would be not only an endless, but a disobliging Task. Some of them, I am convinced, would be less melancholy if there were more Occasion. I shall, therefore, instead of hearkening to further Complaints, employ some Part of this Paper, for the future, in letting such Men see that their natural or acquired Fears are ill-grounded, and their artificial ones as ill-intended; that all our present Inconveniences are the Consequence of the very Counsels they so much admire, which would still have increased if those had continued; and that neither our Constitution in Church or State could probably have been long preserved, without such Methods as have been already taken.

THE late Revolutions at Court have given room to some specious Objections, which I have heard repeated by well-meaning Men, just as they had taken them up on the Credit of others, who have worse Designs. They wonder the QUEEN would chuse to
change

change her Ministry at this Juncture, and thereby give Uneasiness to a General, who hath been so long successful Abroad, and might think himself injured if the entire Ministry were not of his own Nomination; that there were few Complaints of any Consequence against the late Men in Power, and none at all in Parliament, which, on the contrary, passed Votes in favour of the chief Minister; that if her Majesty had a mind to introduce the other Party, it would have been more seasonable after a Peace, which now we have made desperate by spiriting the *French*, who rejoice at these Changes, and by the Fall of our Credit, which unqualifies us for carrying on the War; that the Parliament, so untimely dissolved, had been diligent in their Supplies, and dutiful in their Behaviour; that one Consequence of these Changes appears already in the Fall of the Stocks; that we may soon expect more and worse; and lastly, that all this naturally tends to break the Settlement of this Crown, and call over the *Pretender*.

THESE, and the like Notions, are plentifully scattered abroad, by the Malice of a ruined Party, to render the QUEEN and her Administration odious, and to inflame the Nation. And these are what, upon Occasion, I shall endeavour to overthrow, by discovering the Falshood and Absurdity of them.

It is a great Unhappiness, when in a Government constituted like ours, it should be so brought about that the Continuance of a War must be for the Interest of vast Numbers (Civil as well as Military) who otherwise would have been as unknown as their Original. I think our present Condition of Affairs is admirably described by two Verses in *Lucan*:

*Hinc usura vorax, avidumque in tempore fœnus,
Hinc concussa fides, & multis utile bellum.*

Which, without any great Force upon the Words, may be thus translated :

Hence are derived those exorbitant Interests and Annuities; hence those large Discounts for Advance and prompt Payment; hence public Credit is shaken; and hence great Numbers find their Profit in prolonging the War.

IT is odd that among a free trading People, as we call ourselves, there should so many be found to close in with those Counsels, who have been ever averse from all Overtures towards a Peace : But yet there is no great Mystery in the Matter. Let any Man observe the Equipages in this Town, he shall find the greater Number of those who make a Figure to be a Species of Men quite different from any that were ever known before the Revolution; consisting either of Generals and Colonels, or of those whose whole Fortune lies in Funds and Stocks; so that *Power*, which, according to the old Maxim, was used to follow *Land*, is now gone over to *Money*; and the Country Gentleman is in the Condition of a young Heir, out of whose Estate a Scrivener receives half the Rents for Interest, and hath a Mortgage on the Whole; and is therefore always ready to feed his Vices and Extravagancies while there is any thing left. So that if the War continue some Years longer, a Landed Man will be little better than a Farmer at a Rack-rent to the Army and to the publick Funds.

IT may perhaps be worth inquiring, from what Beginnings and by what Steps we have been brought into this desperate Condition : And in search of this we must run up as high as the Revolution.

MOST of the Nobility and Gentry who invited over the Prince of *Orange*, or attended him in his Expedition, were true Lovers of their Country and its Constitution in Church and State; and were brought

to yield to those Breaches in the Succession of the Crown, out of a Regard to the Necessity of the Kingdom and the Safety of the People, which did, and could only, make them lawful; but without Intention of drawing such a Practice into Precedent, or making it a standing Measure by which to proceed in all Times to come; and therefore we find their Counsels ever tended to keep Things, as much as possible, in the old Course. But soon after, an under Set of Men, who had nothing to lose, and had neither borne the Burthen nor Heat of the Day, found means to whisper in the King's Ear, that the Principles of Loyalty in the Church of *England* were wholly inconsistent with the *Revolution*. Hence began the early Practice of caressing the Dissenters, reviling the Universities, as Maintainers of Arbitrary Power, and reproaching the Clergy with the Doctrines of Divine Right, Passive Obedience, and Non-Resistance. At the same time, in order to fasten wealthy People to the new Government, they proposed those pernicious Expedients of borrowing Money by vast *Premiums*, and at exorbitant Interest: A Practice as old as *Eumenes*, one of *Alexander's* Captains, who, setting up for himself after the Death of his Master, persuaded his principal Officers to lend him great Sums, after which they were forced to follow him for their own Security.

THIS introduced a Number of new dextrous Men into Business and Credit. It was argued, that the War could not last above two or three Campaigns; and that it was easier for the Subjects to raise a Fund for paying Interest, than to tax them annually to the full Expence of the War. Several Persons, who had small or incumbered Estates, sold them, and turned their Money into those Funds to great Advantage: Merchants, as well as other money'd Men, finding Trade was dangerous, pursued the same Method. But the War continuing, and growing

growing more expensive, Taxes were increased, and Funds multiplied every Year, 'till they have arrived at the monstrous Height we now behold them; and that which was at first a Corruption, is at last grown necessary, and what every good Subject must now fall in with, although he may be allowed to wish it might soon have an End; because it is with a Kingdom as with a private Fortune, where every new Incumbrance adds a double Weight. By this means the Wealth of a Nation, that used to be reckoned by the Value of Land, is now computed by the Rise and Fall of Stocks: And although the Foundation of Credit be still the same, and upon a Bottom that can never be shaken; and although all Interest be duly paid by the Publick; yet, through the Contrivance and Cunning of *Stock-jobbers*, there hath been brought in such a Complication of Knavery and Cozenage, such a Mystery of Iniquity, and such an unintelligible Jargon of Terms to involve it in, as were never known in any other Age or Country of the World. I have heard it affirmed by Persons skilled in these Calculations, that if the Funds appropriated to the Payment of Interest and Annuities, were added to the yearly Taxes, and the Four-shilling Aid strictly exacted in all Counties of the Kingdom, it would very near, if not fully, supply the Occasions of the War; at least such a Part as, in the Opinion of very able Persons, had been at that Time prudent not to exceed. For I make it a question, Whether any wise Prince or State, in the Continuance of a War, which was not purely defensive, or immediately at his own Door, did ever propose that his Expence should perpetually exceed what he was able to impose annually upon his Subjects? Neither, if the War last many Years longer, do I see how the next Generation will be able to begin another; which,

in the Course of human Affairs, and according to the various Interests and Ambition of Princes, may be as necessary for them as it hath been for us. And if our Fathers had left us as deeply involved as we are likely to leave our Children, I appeal to any Man, what Sort of Figure we should have been able to make these twenty Years past. Besides, neither our Enemies nor Allies are upon the same Foot with us in this particular. *France* and *Holland*, our nearest Neighbours, and the farthest engaged, will much sooner recover themselves after a War: The first by the absolute Power of the Prince, who being Master of the Lives and Fortunes of his Subjects, will quickly find Expedients to pay his Debts; and so will the other, by their prudent Administration, the Greatness of their Trade, their wonderful Parsimony, the Willingness of their People to undergo all kind of Taxes, and their Justice in applying as well as collecting them. But above all, we are to consider that *France* and *Holland* fight on the Continent, either upon or near their own Territories, and the greatest Part of the Money circulates among themselves; whereas ours crosses the Sea, either to *Flanders*, *Spain*, or *Portugal*, and every Penny of it, whether in Specie or Returns, is so much lost to the Nation for ever.

UPON these Considerations alone, it was the most prudent Course imaginable in the QUEEN, to lay hold of the Disposition of the People for changing the Parliament and Ministry at this Juncture, and extricating herself, as soon as possible, out of the Pupillage of those who found their Accounts only in perpetuating the War. Neither have we the least Reason to doubt, but the ensuing Parliament will assist her MAJESTY with the utmost Vigour, until her Enemies again be brought to sue for
Peace,

Peace, and *again* offer such Terms as will make it both honourable and lasting; only with this Difference, that the Ministry perhaps will not *again* refuse them.

*Audiet pugnæ vitio parentum
Rara Juventus.*



THE

T H E
E X A M I N E R.

N U M B E R X I V .

Thursday, November 9, 1710.

*E quibus hi vacuas implent sermonibus aures,
Hi narrata ferunt alio: mensuraque ficti
Crescit, & auditis aliquid novus adjicit autor,
Illic Credulitas, illic temerarius Error,
Vanaque Lætitia est, consternatique Timores,
Seditioque recens, dubioque autore Susurri.*

I Am prevailed on, through the Importunity of Friends, to interrupt the Scheme I had begun in my last Paper, by an Essay upon the Art of *Political Lying*. We are told *The Devil is the Father of Lyes*, and *was a Lyar from the Beginning*; so that, beyond Contradiction, the Invention is old: And, which is more, his first Essay of it was purely *Political*, employed in undermining the Authority of his Prince, and seducing a third Part of the Subjects from their Obedience. For which he was driven down from Heaven, where (as *Milton* expresth it) he had been *VICEROY* of a great *Western Province*;

vince; and forced to exercise his Talent in inferior Regions among *other fallen Spirits*, or *poor deluded Men*, whom he still daily tempts to *his own Sin*, and will ever do so till he be *chained in the bottomless Pit*.

BUT although the Devil be the Father of *Lyes*, he seems, like other great Inventors, to have lost much of his Reputation, by the continual Improvements that have been made upon him.

WHO first reduced *Lying* into an Art, and adapted it to *Politicks*, is not so clear from History; although I have made some diligent Enquiries. I shall therefore consider it only according to the modern System, as it hath been cultivated these twenty Years past in the Southern Part of our own Island.

THE Poets tell us, that after the Giants were overthrown by the Gods, the *Earth*, in revenge, produced her last Offspring, which was *Fame*. And the Fable is thus interpreted: That when Tumults and Seditions are quieted, Rumours and false Reports are plentifully spread through a Nation. So that by this Account, *Lying* is the last Relief of a *routed earth-born, rebellious Party* in a State. But here the Moderns have made great Additions, applying this Art to the gaining of Power and preserving it, as well as revenging themselves after they have lost it; as the same Instruments are made use of by Animals to feed themselves when they are hungry, and bite those that tread upon them.

BUT the same Genealogy cannot always be admitted for *Political Lying*; I shall therefore desire to refine upon it, by adding some Circumstances of its Birth and Parents. A *Political Lye* is sometimes born out of a discarded Statesman's Head, and thence delivered to be nurs'd and dandled by the *Rabble*. Sometimes it is produced a Monster, and *licked* into Shape:

Shape: at other Times it comes into the World completely formed, and is spoiled in the *licking*. It is often born an Infant in the regular Way, and requires Time to mature it; and often it sees the Light in its full Growth, but dwindles away by Degrees. Sometimes it is of noble Birth; and sometimes the Spawn of a *Stock-jobber*. Here it screams aloud at the opening of the Womb; and there it is delivered with a *Whisper*. I know a *Lye* that now disturbs half the Kingdom with its Noise, which, although too proud and great at present to own its Parents, I can remember its *Whisper-hood*. To conclude the Nativity of this Monster; when it comes into the World without a *Sting*, it is still-born; and whenever it loses its *Sting* it dies.

No wonder if an Infant so miraculous in its Birth, should be destined for great Adventures; and accordingly we see it hath been the *Guardian Spirit* of a *prevailing Party* for almost twenty Years. It can conquer Kingdoms without fighting, and sometimes with the Loss of a Battle. It gives and resumes Employments; can sink a Mountain to a Mole-hill, and raise a Mole-hill to a Mountain; hath presided for many Years at Committees of Elections; can wash a *Black-a-moor* white; make a Saint of an Atheist, and a Patriot of a Profligate; can furnish *Foreign Ministers* with Intelligence; and raise or let fall the Credit of the Nation. This Goddess flies with a huge *Looking-glass* in her Hands to dazzle the Crowd, and make them see, according as she turns it, their Ruin in their Interest, and their Interest in their Ruin. In this Glass you will behold your best Friends clad in Coats powder'd with *Fleurs de Lis* and *Triple Crowns*, their Girdles hung round with *Chains*, and *Beads*, and *Wooden Shoes*; and your worst Enemies adorned with the Ensigns of
Liberty,

Liberty, Property, Indulgence, Moderation, and a Cornucopia in their Hands. Her large Wings, like those of a flying Fish, are of no use but while they are moist; she therefore dips them in *Mud*, and soaring aloft scatters it in the Eyes of the Multitude, flying with great Swiftneſs; but at every Turn is forced to stoop in *dirty Ways* for new Supplies.

I HAVE been ſometimes thinking, if a Man had the Art of the *Second Sight* for ſeeing *Lyes*, as they have in *Scotland* for ſeeing Spirits, how admirably he might entertain himſelf in this Town, by obſerving the different Shapes, Sizes, and Colours of thoſe Swarms of *Lyes*, which buz about the Heads of *ſome People*, like Flies about a Horſe's Ears in Summer; or thoſe Legions hovering every Afternoon in *Exchange-alley*, enough to darken the Air; or over a Club of diſcontented Grantees, and thence ſent down in Cargoes to be ſcattered at Elections.

THERE is one eſſential Point wherein a *Political Lyar* differs from others of the Faculty, That he ought to have but a ſhort Memory, which is neceſſary according to the various Occaſions he meets with every Hour, of differing from himſelf, and ſwearing to both Sides of a Contradiction, as he finds the Perſons diſpoſed with whom he hath to deal. In deſcribing the Virtues and Vices of Mankind it is convenient, upon every Article, to have ſome eminent Perſon in our Eye from whence we copy our Deſcription. I have ſtrictly obſerved this Rule; and my Imagination this Minute repreſents before me a certain *Great Man*^a famous for this Talent, to the conſtant Practice of which he owes his twenty Years Reputation of the moſt ſkilful Head in *England* for the Management of nice Affairs. The Superiority

^a The late Earl of *Warton*.

of his Genius consists in nothing else but an inexhaustible Fund of *Political Lyes*, which he plentifully distributes every Minute he speaks, and, by an unparalleled Generosity, forgets, and consequently contradicts, the next half Hour. He never yet considered whether any Proposition were true or false, but whether it were convenient for the present Minute or Company to affirm or deny it; so that if you think fit to refine upon him, by interpreting every thing he says, as we do Dreams, by the contrary, you are still to seek, and will find yourself equally deceived whether you believe or no: The only Remedy is to suppose that you have heard some inarticulate Sounds, without any Meaning at all; and besides, that will take off the Horror you might be apt to conceive at the Oaths wherewith he perpetually tags both Ends of every *Proposition*: although, at the same time, I think, he cannot, with any justice, be taxed with Perjury, when he invokes *God* and *Christ*; because he hath often fairly given publick Notice to the World, that he believes in neither.

SOME People may think that such an Accomplishment as this can be of no great Use to the Owner, or his Party, after it hath been often practised and is become notorious; but they are widely mistaken. Few *Lyes* carry the Inventor's Mark, and the most prostitute Enemy to Truth may spread a thousand without being known for the Author: Besides, as the vilest Writer hath his Readers, so the greatest *Liar* hath his Believers: and it often happens, that if a *Lye* be believed only for an Hour, it hath done its Work, and there is no farther Occasion for it. *Falshood flies*, and *Truth* comes limping after it; so that when Men come to be undeceived, it is too late; the Jest is over, and the Tale has had its Effect:

Like a Man who has thought of a good Repartee when the Discourse is changed, or the Company parted; or like a Physician who hath found out an infallible Medicine after the Patient is dead.

CONSIDERING that natural Disposition in many Men to *Lye*, and in Multitudes to *Believe*, I have been perplexed what to do with that Maxim, so frequent in every Body's Mouth, That *Truth will at last prevail*. Here has this Island of ours, for the greatest Part of twenty Years, lain under the Influence of such Counsels and Persons, whose Principle and Interest it was to corrupt our Manners, blind our Understandings, drain our Wealth, and in time destroy our Constitution both in Church and State; and we at last were brought to the very Brink of Ruin; yet, by the means of perpetual Misrepresentations, have never been able to distinguish between our Enemies and Friends. We have seen a great Part of the Nation's Money got into the Hands of those who, by their Birth, Education, and Merit, could pretend no higher than to wear our Liveries; while others, who, by their Credit, Quality, and Fortune, were only able to give Reputation and Success to the Revolution, were not only laid aside, as dangerous and useless, but loaden with the Scandal of *Jacobites*, Men of *Arbitrary Principles*, and *Pensioners to France*; while Truth, who is said to *lye in a Well*, seemed now to be buried there under a Heap of Stones. But I remember it was an usual Complaint among the *Whigs*, That the Bulk of Landed Men was not in their Interests; which some of the wisest looked on as an ill Omen; and we saw it was with the utmost Difficulty that they could preserve a Majority, while the Court and Ministry were on their Side, 'till they had learned those admirable Expedients for deciding Elections, and influencing distant Boroughs, by *power-ful*

ful Motives from the City. But all this was mere Force and Constraint, however upheld by most dextrous Artifice and Management, until the People began to apprehend their *Properties*, their *Religion*, and the *Monarchy* itself in danger; then we saw them greedily laying hold on the first Occasion to interpose. But of this mighty Change in the Dispositions of the People I shall discourse more at large in some following Paper; wherein I shall endeavour to undeceive or discover those deluded or deluding Persons, who hope or pretend, it is only a short Madness in the Vulgar, from which they may soon recover; whereas, I believe, it will appear to be very different in its Causes, its Symptoms, and its Consequences; and prove a great Example to illustrate the Maxim I lately mentioned, That *Truth* (however, sometimes, late) *will at last prevail*.



THE
EXAMINER.

NUMBER XV.

Thursday, November 16, 1710.

*— medioque ut limite curras,
Icare, ait, moneo: ne si demissior ibis,
Unda gravet Pennas, si celsior, ignis adurat.*

IT must be avowed, that, for some Years past, there have been few Things more wanted in *England* than such a Paper as this ought to be: and such as I will endeavour to make it, as long as it shall be found of any Use, without entering into the Violences of either Party. Considering the many grievous Misrepresentations of Persons and Things, it is highly requisite, at this Juncture, that the People throughout the Kingdom should, if possible, be set right in their Opinions, by some impartial Hand; which hath never been yet attempted; those who have hitherto undertaken it being, upon every Account, the least qualified of all Human Kind for such a Work.

WE

WE live here under a limited Monarchy, and under the Doctrine and Discipline of an excellent Church. We are unhappily divided into two Parties, both which pretend a mighty Zeal for our Religion and Government, only they disagree about the Means. The Evils we must fence against are, on one Side, Fanaticism and Infidelity in Religion, and Anarchy, under the Name of a Commonwealth, in Government; on the other Side, Popery, Slavery, and the Pretender from *France*. Now to inform and direct us in our Sentiments upon these weighty Points, here are on one Side two stupid illiterate Scribblers, both of them *Fanaticks* by Profession, I mean the *Review* and *Observer*; on the other Side, we have an open *Nonjuror*, whose Character and Person, as well as Learning and Good Sense, discovered upon other Subjects, do indeed deserve Respect and Esteem; but his *Rehearsal* and the rest of his Political Papers are yet more pernicious than those of the former two. If the Generality of the People knew not how to *talk* or *think*, until they have read their *Lesson* in the Papers of the Week, what a Misfortune is it that their Duty should be conveyed to them through such *Vehicles* as those? For, let some Gentlemen think what they please, I cannot but suspect that the two Worthies I first mentioned, have, in a Degree, done Mischief among us; the mock authoritative Manner of the one, and the insipid Mirth of the other, however insupportable to reasonable Ears, being of a Level with great Numbers among the lowest Part of Mankind. Neither was the Author of the *Rehearsal*, while he continued that Paper, less infectious to many Persons of better Figure, who, perhaps, were as well qualified, and much less prejudiced, to judge for themselves.

It was this Reason that moved me to take the Matter out of those *rough*, as well as those *dirty* Hands; to let the remote and uninstructed Part of the Nation see that they have been misled on both Sides, by mad, ridiculous Extremes, at a wide Distance on each Side from the Truth; while the right Path is so broad and plain as to be easily kept, if they were once put into it.

FURTHER: I had lately entered on a Resolution to take very little Notice of other Papers, unless it were such where the Malice and Falshood had so great a Mixture of Wit and Spirit as would make them dangerous; which, in the present Circle of Scriblers, from Twelve-pence to a Half-penny, I could easily foresee would not very frequently occur. But here again I am forced to dispense with my Resolution, although it be only to tell my Reader what Measures I am like to take on such Occasions for the future. I was told that the Paper called *The Observer*, was twice filled last Week with Remarks upon a late *Examiner*. These I read, with the first Opportunity, and, to speak in the News-writers Phrase, they gave me *Occasion for many Speculations*. I observed, with singular Pleasure, the Nature of those *Things*, which the Owners of them usually call *Answers*, and with what Dexterity this matchless Author had fallen into the whole Art and Cant of them. To transcribe here and there three or four detatch'd Lines of least Weight in a Discourse, and by a foolish Comment, mistake every Syllable of the Meaning, is what I have known many, of a superior Class to this formidable Adversary, entitle an *Answer*. This is what he hath exactly done in about thrice as many Words as my whole Discourse; which is so mighty an Advantage over me, that I shall by no means engage in so unequal a Combat; but, as far
as

as I can judge of my own Temper, entirely dismiss him for the future ; heartily wishing he had a Match exactly of his own Size to meddle with, who should only have the odds of Truth and Honesty, which, as I take it, would be an effectual Way to silence him for ever. Upon this Occasion I cannot forbear a short Story of a *Fanatick Farmer*, who lived in my Neighbourhood, and was so great a Disputant in Religion, that the Servants in all the Families thereabouts reported, how he had confuted the Bishop and all his Clergy. I had then a Footman who was fond of reading the Bible ; and I borrowed a Comment for him, which he studied so close that in a Month or two I thought him a Match for the *Farmer*. They disputed at several Houses, with a Ring of Servants and other People always about them ; where *Ned* explained his Texts so full and clear to the Capacity of his Audience, and shewed the Insignificancy of his Adversary's Cant, to the meanest Understanding, that he got the whole Country of his Side, and the Farmer was cured of his Itch of Disputation for ever after.

THE worst of it is, that this Sort of outrageous Party-writers I have spoke of above, are like a couple of Make-bates, who inflame small Quarrels by a thousand Stories, and by keeping Friends at a Distance hinder them from coming to a good Understanding ; as they certainly would, if they were suffered to meet and debate between themselves : For let any one examine a reasonable honest Man of either Side, upon those Opinions in Religion and Government which both Parties daily buffet each other about ; he shall hardly find one material Point in Difference between them. I would be glad to ask a Question about *two Great Men* of the late Ministry, How they came to be *Whigs* ? And, by what

Figure of Speech half a Dozen others, lately put into great Employments, can be called *Tories*? I doubt whoever would suit the Definition to the Persons, must make it directly contrary to what we understood it at the Time of the Revolution.

IN order to remove these Misapprehensions among us, I believe it will be necessary, upon occasion, to detect the Malice and Falshood of some popular Maxims which those Idiots scatter from the Press twice a Week, and draw an hundred absurd Consequences from them.

FOR Example; I have heard it often objected as a great Piece of Insolence in the Clergy, and others, to say or hint that the *Church was in Danger*, when it was voted otherwise in Parliament some Years ago; and the Queen herself, in her last Speech, did openly condemn all such insinuations. Notwithstanding which, I did then, and do still believe the Church hath, since that Vote, been in very imminent Danger; and, I think, I might then have said so, without the least Offence to her Majesty, or either of the two Houses. The Queen's Words, as near as I can remember, mentioned the Church being in Danger from *her Administration*; and whoever says or thinks that, deserves, in my Opinion, to be hanged for a Traitor: But, that the Church and State may be both in Danger under the best Princes that ever reigned, and without the least Guilt of theirs, is such a Truth as a Man must be a great Stranger to History and Common Sense, to doubt. The wisest Prince on Earth may be forced by the Necessity of his Affairs, and the present Power of an unruly Faction, or deceived by the Craft of ill-designing Men. One or two Ministers, most in his Confidence, may *at first* have good Intentions but grow corrupted by Time, by Avarice, by Love, by Ambition, and have fairer
Terms

Terms offered them, to gratify their Passions or Interests, from *one Set of Men* than another, until they are too far involved for a Retreat; and so be forced to take *seven Spirits more wicked than themselves*. This is a very possible Case; and will not *the last State of such Men be worse than the first?* that is to say, will not the Publick, which was safe at first, grow in Danger by such Proceedings as these? And shall a faithful Subject, who foresees and trembles at the Consequences, be called *disaffected*, because he delivers his Opinion, although the Prince declares, as he justly may, that the Danger is not owing to his Administration? Or shall the Prince himself be blamed, when, in such a Juncture, he puts his Affairs into other Hands, *with the universal Applause of his People?* As to the Vote against those who should affirm the Church was in Danger, I think, it likewise referred to Danger from, or under, the Queen's Administration (for I neither have it by me, nor can suddenly have recourse to it;) but if it were otherwise, I know not how it can refer to any Dangers but what were past, or at that Time present; or how it could affect the Future, unless the Senators were all *inspired*, or at least that Majority which voted it: Neither do I see any Crime, further than ill Manners, to differ in Opinion from a Majority of either or both Houses; and that ill Manners, I must confess, I have been often guilty of for some Years past, although I hope I never shall again.

ANOTHER Topick of great use to these weekly Inflamers, is the young *Pretender in France*, to whom their whole Party is in a high Measure indebted for all their Greatness; and whenever it lies in their Power they may perhaps return their Acknowledgements, as, out of their Zeal for frequent *Revolutions*, they were ready to do to his supposed Father,

ther; which is a Piece of *Secret History* that I hope will one Day see the Light; and I am sure it shall, if ever I am Master of it, without regarding *whose Ears may tingle*. But at present the Word *Pretender* is a Term of Art in *their* Profession. A Secretary of State cannot *desire leave to resign*, but the *Pretender* is at bottom; the Queen cannot dissolve a Parliament, but it is a Plot to dethrone herself and bring in the *Pretender*; half a score Stock-jobbers are playing the knave in *Exchange-alley*, and there goes the *Pretender* with a *Sponge*. One would be apt to think they bawl out the *Pretender* so often, to take off the Terror; or tell so many Lyes about him, to slacken our Caution; that when he is really coming, *by their Connivance*, we may not believe them; as the Boy served the Shepherds about the *coming of the Wolf*: Or perhaps they scare us with the *Pretender*, because they think he may be like some Diseases that *come with a Fear*. Do they not believe that the Queen's present Ministry love her Majesty, at least as well as *some others* loved the Church? And why is it not as great a Mark of *Disaffection* now, to say the *Queen is in Danger*, as it was some Months ago to affirm the same of the Church? Suppose it be a false Opinion, that the Queen's Right is *hereditary* and *indefeasible*; yet how is it possible that those who hold and believe such a Doctrine, can be in the *Pretender's* Interest? His Title is weakened by every Argument that strengthens Hers: It is as plain as the Words of an Act of Parliament can make it, That her present Majesty is Heir to the Survivor of the late King, and Queen her Sister: Is not that an *Hereditary Right*? What need we explain it any farther? I have known an *Article of Faith* expounded in much looser and more general Terms, and that by an Author whose Opinions are very much followed by a certain Party.

Suppose

Suppose we go further, and examine the Word *Indefeasible*, with which some Writers of late have made themselves so merry : I confess it is hard to conceive how any Law, which the supreme Power makes, may not by the same Power be repealed ; so that I shall not determine, whether the Queen's Right be *indefeasible* or no. But this I will maintain ; that whoever affirms it so, is not guilty of a Crime ; for in that Settlement of the Crown after the Revolution, where her present Majesty is named in Remainder, there are (as near as I can remember) these remarkable Words, *To which we bind ourselves and our Posterity for ever*. Lawyers may explain this, and call them Words of Form, as they please ; and Reasoners may argue, that such an Obligation is against the very Nature of Government ; but a plain Reader, who takes the Words in their natural Meaning, may be excused in thinking a Right so confirmed is *indefeasible* ; and if there be an Absurdity in such an Opinion, he is not to answer for it.

P. S. WHEN this Paper was going to the Press, the Printer brought to me two more *Observers* wholly taken up in my *Examiner* upon Lying, which I was at the Pains to read ; and they are just such an Answer as the two others I have mentioned. This is all I have to say on that Matter.

THE
EXAMINER.

NUMBER XVI.

Thursday, November 23, 1710.

*Qui sunt boni cives? Qui belli, qui domi de patriâ
bene merentes, nisi qui patriæ beneficia meminerunt?*

I Will employ this present Paper upon a Subject which of late hath very much affected me, which I have considered with a great deal of Application, and made several Enquiries about, among those Persons who, I thought, were best able to inform me; and if I deliver my Sentiments with some Freedom, I hope it will be forgiven, while I accompany it with that Tenderness which so nice a Point requires.

I SAID in a former Paper [Number xiii.] that one specious Objection to the late Removals at Court was the Fear of giving Uneasiness to a General, who hath been long successful Abroad; and accordingly, the common Clamour of Tongues and Pens, for some Months past, hath run against the Baseness, the Inconstancy, and Ingratitude of the whole Kingdom to the Duke of Marlborough, in re-
turn

turn of the most eminent Services that ever were performed by a Subject to his Country; not to be equalled in History. And then, to be sure, some bitter Stroke of Detraction against *Alexander* and *Cæsar*, who never did us the least Injury. Besides, the People who read *Plutarch* come upon us with Parallels, drawn from the *Greeks* and *Romans*, who ungratefully dealt with I know not how many of their most deterving Generals; while the profounder Politicians have seen Pamphlets, where *Tacitus* and *Machiavel* have been quoted to shew the Danger of too resplendent a Merit. If a Stranger should hear these furious Outcries of Ingratitude against our General, without knowing the Particulars, he would be apt to enquire, Where was his Tomb, or whether he were allowed Christian Burial? not doubting but we had put him to some ignominious Death. Or, Hath he been tried for his Life, and very narrowly escaped? Hath he been accused of High Crimes and Misdemeanours? Has the Prince seized on his Estate, and left him to starve? Hath he been hooted at as he passed the Streets, by an ungrateful Rabble? Have neither Honours, Offices, nor Grants been conferred on him or his Family? Have not he and they been barbarously stript of them all? Have not he and his Forces been ill paid Abroad? And doth not the Prince, by a scanty limited Commission, hinder him from pursuing his own Methods in the Conduct of the War? Hath he no Power at all of disposing of Commissions as he pleaseth? Is he not severely used by the Ministry or Parliament, who yearly call him to a strict Account? Has the Senate ever thanked him for good Success, and have they not always publicly censured him for the least Miscarriage? Will the Accusers of the Nation join issue upon any of these Particulars: or, tell us in what Point our damnable

able Sin of Ingratitude lies? Why, it is plain and clear; for while he is commanding abroad, the Queen dissolveth her Parliament, and changeth her Ministry at home; in which *universal Calamity* no less than *two Persons*, allied by Marriage to the General, have lost their Places. Whence comes this wonderful Sympathy between the Civil and Military Powers? Will the Troops in *Flanders* refuse to fight, unless they can have *their own* Lord Keeper, *their own* Lord President of the Council, *their own* chief Governor of *Ireland*, and *their own* Parliament? In a Kingdom where the People are free, how came they to be so fond of having their Counsels under the Influence of their Army, or those that lead it? who, in all well-instituted States, had no Commerce with the Civil Power, farther than to receive their Orders, and obey them without Reserve.

WHEN a General is not so popular, either in his Army or at home, as one might expect from a long Course of Success; it may, perhaps, be ascribed to his *Wisdom*, or perhaps to his Complexion. The Possession of some one *Quality*, or a Defect in *some other*, will extremely damp the People's Favour, as well as the Love of the Soldiers. Besides, this is not an Age to produce Favourites of the People, while we live under a Queen who engrosseth all our Love and all our Veneration; and where the only Way for a great General or Minister to acquire any Degree of subordinate Affection from the Publick, must be by all Marks of the most *entire Submission and Respect* to her Sacred Person and Commands; otherwise no Pretence of great Services, either in the Field or the Cabinet, will be able to screen them from universal Hatred.

BUT the late Ministry was closely joined to the General, by Friendship, Interest, Alliance, Inclination, and Opinion, which cannot be affirmed of the present;

present; and the Ingratitude of the Nation lieth in the People's *joining as one Man*, to wish that such a Ministry should be changed. Is it not at the same Time notorious to the whole Kingdom, that nothing but a tender Regard to the General was able to preserve that Ministry so long, until neither God nor Man could suffer their Continuance? Yet in the highest Ferment of Things, we heard few or no Reflections upon this great Commander; but all seemed unanimous in wishing he might still be at the Head of the Confederate Forces; only at the same time, in case he were resolved to resign, they chose rather to turn their Thoughts somewhere else than throw up all in Despair. And this I cannot but add, in Defence of the People, with regard to the Person we are speaking of; that in the high Station he hath been for many Years past, his *real Defects* (as nothing human is without them) have, in a detracting Age, been very sparingly mentioned, either in Libels or Conversation, and all his *Successes* very freely and universally applauded.

THERE is an active and a passive Ingratitude: Applying both to this Occasion, we may say, the first is when a Prince or People returns good Services with Cruelty or ill Usage; the other is, when good Services are not at all, or very meanly rewarded. We have already spoke of the former; let us therefore, in the second Place, examine how the Services of our General have been rewarded; and whether, upon that Article, either Prince or People have been guilty of Ingratitude.

THOSE are the most valuable Rewards which are given to us, from the certain Knowledge of the Donor that they *fit our Temper best*: I shall therefore say nothing of the Title of *Duke*, or the *Garter*, which the Queen bestowed upon the General in the
Beginning

beginning of her Reign; but I shall come to *more substantial* Instances, and mention nothing which hath not been given in the Face of the World. The Lands of *Woodstock* may, I believe, be reckoned worth 40,000 *l.* on the building of *Blenheim* Castle 200,000 *l.* have been already expended, although it be not yet near finished; the Grant of 5000 *l.* *per Annum*, on the Post Office, is richly worth 100,000 *l.* his Principality in *Germany* may be computed at 30,000 *l.* Pictures, Jewels, and other Gifts from foreign Princes, 60,000 *l.* the Grant at the *Pall-mall*, the Rangership, &c. for want of more certain Knowledge, may be called 10,000 *l.* his own and his Duchefs's Employments, at five Years Value, reckoning only the known and avowed Salaries, are very low rated at 100,000 *l.* Here is a good deal above half a Million of Money; and, I dare say, they who are loudest with the Clamour of Ingratitude, will readily own that all this is but a Trifle, in Comparifon of what is *untold*.

THE Reason of my stating this Account is only to convince the World that we are not quite so ungrateful either as the *Greeks* or the *Romans*; and in order to adjust this Matter with all Fairness, I shall confine myself to the latter, who were much the more generous of the two. A victorious General of *Rome*, in the Height of that Empire, having *entirely subdued his Enemies*, was rewarded with a larger Triumph, and perhaps a Statue in the *Forum*, a Bull for a Sacrifice, an embroidered Garment to appear in, a Crown of Laurel, a Monumental Trophy with Inscriptions, sometimes five hundred or a Thousand Copper Coins were struck on Occasion of the Victory, which, doing honour to the General, we will place to his Account; and lastly, sometimes, although
not

not very frequently, a triumphal Arch. These are all the Rewards that I can call to mind, which a victorious General received after his Return from the most glorious Expedition; having conquered some great Kingdom, brought the King himself, his Family, and Nobles, to adorn the Triumph in Chains; and made the Kingdom either a *Roman* Province, or, at best, a poor depending State, in humble Alliance to that Empire. Now, of all these Rewards, I find but two which were of real Profit to the General, the *Laurel-Crown*, made and sent him at the Charge of the Publick, and the *embroidered Garment*; but I cannot find whether this last was paid for by the Senate or the General: However we will take the more favourable Opinion; and in all the rest admit the whole Expence as if it were ready Money in the General's Pocket. Now, according to these Computations on both Sides, we will draw up two fair Accounts; the one of *Roman* Gratitude, and the other of *British* Ingratitude, and set them together in Balance.

A Bill of ROMAN Gratitude.

<i>Imprim.</i>	<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
For Frankincense, and Earthen Pots to burn it in, {	4	10	0
A Bull for Sacrifice {	8	0	0
An embroidered Garment {	50	0	0
ACrown of Laurel {	0	0	2
A Statue	100	0	0
A Trophy	80	0	0
A thousand Copper Medals, Value Half-pence a-piece {	2	1	8
A Triumphal Arch {	500	0	0
A Triumphal Car, valued as a modern Coach {	100	0	0
Casual Charges at the Triumph {	150	0	0
	994	11	10

A Bill of BRITISH Ingratitude.

<i>Imprim.</i>	<i>l.</i>
Woodstock, {	40000
Blenheim, {	200000
PostOffice Grant {	100000
Mildenheim {	30000
Pictures, {	60000
Jewels, &c. {	
Pall-Mall Grant, &c. {	10000
Employments {	100000
	540000

THIS is an Account of the visible Profits on both Sides; and if the *Roman* General had any *private Perquisites*, they may be easily discounted, and by more probable Computations; and differ yet more, upon the Balance, if we consider that all the Gold and Silver for *Safeguards* and *Contributions*, and all *valuable Prizes* taken in the War, were openly exposed in the Triumph, and then lodged in the Capitol for the public Service.

So that, upon the whole, we are not yet quite so bad at *worst* as the *Romans* were at *best*. And I doubt those who raise this hideous Cry of Ingratitude may be mightily mistaken in the Consequences they propose from such Complaints. I remember a Saying of *Seneca*, *Multos ingratos invenimus, plures facimus*, We find many ungrateful Persons in the World, but we make more, by setting too high a Rate upon our Pretensions, and undervaluing the Rewards we receive. When unreasonable Bills are brought in, they ought to be taxed, or cut off in the Middle. Where there have been long Accounts between two Persons, I have known one of them perpetually making large Demands, and pressing for Payments, who, when the Accounts were cast up on both Sides, was found to be Debtor for some Hundreds. I am thinking, if a Proclamation were issued out for every Man to send in his *Bill of Merits*, and the lowest Price he set them at, what a pretty Sum it would amount to, and how many such Islands as this must be sold to pay them. I form my Judgment from the Practice of those who sometimes happen to *pay themselves*; and, I dare affirm, would not be so unjust to take a Farthing more than they think is due to their Deserts. I will instance only in one Article: A^a Lady

^a Supposed to be her late Majesty Queen *Anne*.

of my Acquaintance appropriated twenty-six Pounds a Year, out of her own Allowance, for certain Uses, which her Woman ^a received, and was to pay to the Lady or her Order, as it was called for. But after Eight Years, it appeared, upon the strictest Calculation, that the Woman had paid but Four Pounds a Year, and sunk two and twenty for her own Pocket. It is but supposing, instead of Twenty-six Pounds, Twenty-six thousand; and by that you may judge what the Pretensions of *modern Merit* are, where it happens to be its own Paymaster.

^a The Matter was this: At the QUEEN's Accession to the Government, she used to lament to me, that, the Crown being impoverished by former Gants, she wanted the Power her Predecessors had enjoyed to reward faithful Servants; and she desired me to take out of the Privy Purse 2000 *l.* a Year, in order to purchase for my Advantage.—As her MAJESTY was so good to provide for my Children, and as the Offices I enjoyed by her Favour brought me in more than I wanted—I constantly declined it, till the Time—she was pleased to dismiss me from her Service. Then indeed—I sent the QUEEN one of her own Letters, in which she had pressed me to take the 2000 *l.* a Year; and I wrote at the same Time to ask her MAJESTY, whether she would allow me to charge in the Privy Purse Accounts, which I was to send her, that yearly Sum *from the Time of the Offer*, amounting to 18,000 *l.* Her MAJESTY was pleased to answer, I might charge it. This therefore I did. *Account of the Conduct of the Dowager Duchess of Marlborough*, p. 294, 295.

THE
EXAMINER.

NUMBER XVII.

Thursday, November 30, 1710.

Quas res luxuries in flagitiis, avaritia in rapinis, superbia in contumeliis efficere potuisset; eas omnes sese, hoc uno Præatore per triennium, pertulisse aiebant.

WHEN I first undertook this Paper, I was resolved to concern myself only with *Things*, and not with *Persons*. Whether I have kept or broken this Resolution, I cannot recollect; and I will not be at the Pains to examine, but leave the Matter to those little Antagonists who may want a Topick for Criticism. Thus much I have discovered, that it is in Writing as in Building; where, after all our Schemes and Calculations, we are mightily deceived in our Accounts, and often forced to make use of any Materials we can find, that the Work may be kept a going. Besides, to speak my Opinion, the *Things* I have Occasion to mention are so closely linked to *Persons*, that nothing but *Time*

(the Father of *Oblivion*) can separate them. Let me put a parallel Case: Suppose I should complain, that last Week my Coach was within an Inch of overturning in a smooth even Way, and drawn by very gentle Horses; to be sure all my Friends would immediately lay the Fault upon *John*, because they knew he then *presided* in my Coach box. Again, suppose I should discover some Uneasiness to find myself, I knew not how, over Head and Ears in Debt, although I were sure my Tenants paid their Rents very well, and that I never spent all my Income: they would certainly advise me to turn off Mr. *Old-fox* my *Receiver*, and take another. If, as a Justice of Peace, I should tell a Friend, that my *Warrants* and *Mittimus*'s were never drawn up as I would have them; that I had the Misfortune to send an honest Man to Gaol and dismiss a Knave; he would bid me no longer trust *Charles* and *Harry*^b, my two Clerks, whom he knew to be ignorant, wilful, assuming, and ill-inclined Fellows. If I should add, that my Tenants made me very uneasy with their Squabbles and Broils among themselves; he would counsel me to cashier *Will Bigamy*^c, the *Seneschal* of my Manor. And, lastly, if my Neighbour and I happened to have a Misunderstanding about the *Delivery of a Message*, what could I do less than strip and discharge the *blundering* or *malicious* Rascal who carried it?

It is the same Thing in the Conduct of public Affairs, where they have been managed with Rashness or Wilfulness, Corruption, Ignorance, or Injustice. Barely to relate the Facts, at least while they are

^a L. G ——— n.

^b E. S ——— d, and H. B ——— le: were at this Time Secretaries of State.

^c L. G ——— r.

fresh in Memory, will as much reflect upon the *Persons* concerned, as if we had told their Names at length.

I HAVE, therefore, since thought of another Expedient, frequently practised with great Safety and Success by satirical Writers; which is that of looking into History for some Character bearing a Resemblance to the Person we would describe; and with the absolute Power of altering, adding, or suppressing what Circumstances we please, I conceive we must have very bad Luck, or very little Skill, to fail. However, some Days ago in a Coffee-House, looking into one of the politick weekly Papers, I found the Writer had fallen into this Scheme; and I happened to light on that Part where he was describing a Person, who from small Beginnings grew (as I remember) to be Constable of *France*, and had a very *haughty imperious Wife*. I took the Author for a Friend to our *Faction* (for so, with great Propriety of Speech, they call the Queen and Ministry, almost the whole Clergy, and Nine Parts in Ten of the Kingdom;) and I said to a Gentleman near me, that although I knew well enough what Persons the Author meant, yet there were several Particulars in the *Husband's* Character, which I could not reconcile; for that of the *Lady*, it was just and adequate enough. But it seems I mistook the whole Matter, and applied all I had read to a Couple of Persons, who were not at that Time in the Writer's Thoughts.

Now, to avoid such a Misfortune as this, I have been for some time consulting *Livy* and *Tacitus*, to find out the Character of a *Princeps Senatus*, a *Prætor Urbanus*, a *Quæstor Ærarius*, a *Cæsari ab Epistolis*, and a *Proconsul*: But, among the worst of them, I cannot discover one from whom to draw a Parallel, without doing Injury to a *Roman Memory*:

So that I am compelled to have Recourse to *Tully*. But, this Author relating Facts only as an Orator, I thought it would be best to observe his Method, and make an Extract from six Harangues of his against *Verres*, only still preserving the Form of an Oration. I remember, a younger Brother of mine, who deceased about two Months ago, presented the World with a Speech of *Alcibiades*, against an *Athenian* Brewer. Now I am told for certain, that in those Days there was no Ale in *Athens*, therefore that Speech, or at least a great Part of it, must needs be spurious. The Difference between my Brother and me is this; He makes *Alcibiades* say a great deal more than he really did, and I make *Cicero* say a great deal less. This *Verres*^a had been the *Roman* Governor of *Sicily* for three Years; and on his Return from his Government, the *Sicilians* entreated *Cicero* to impeach him in the Senate; which he accordingly did in several Orations; from whence I have faithfully translated and abstracted that which follows:

“ My Lords,

“ A Pernicious Opinion hath for some Time
 “ prevailed, not only at *Rome*, but among our
 “ neighbouring Nations, that a Man who hath Money enough, although he be ever so guilty, cannot be condemned in this Place. But, however industriously this Opinion be spread, to cast an Oidium on the Senate, we have brought before your Lordships *Caius Verres*, a Person, for his Life and Actions, already condemned by all Men: But, as he hopes and gives out, by the Influence of his Wealth to be here absolved; in condemning this Man you have an Opportunity of belying that ge-

^a Earl of *Warton*, Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*.

“ neral

“ neral Scandal, of redeeming the *Credit lost by for-*
“ *mer Judgments*, and recovering the Love of the *Ro-*
“ *man* People, as well as of our Neighbours. I have
“ brought here a Man before you, my Lords, who
“ is a Robber of the Public Treasure, an Overturner
“ of Law and Justice, and the Disgrace as well as the
“ Destruction of the *Sicilian* Province, of whom if
“ you shall determine with Equity and due Severity,
“ your Authority will remain entire, and upon such
“ an Establishment as it ought to be : But if his great
“ Riches will be able to force their Way through
“ that religious Reverence and Truth which become
“ so awful an Assembly ; I shall, however, obtain
“ thus much, That the Defect will be laid where
“ it ought ; and that it shall not be objected, the
“ Criminal was not produced, or that there wanted
“ an Orator to accuse him. This Man, my Lords,
“ hath publickly said, That those ought to be afraid
“ of Accusations who have only robbed enough for their
“ own Support and Maintenance ; but that he hath
“ plundered sufficient to bribe Numbers ; and that
“ nothing is so High or Holy which Money cannot
“ corrupt. Take that Support from him, and he
“ can have no other left : For what Eloquence will
“ be able to defend a Man, whose Life hath been
“ tainted with so many scandalous Vices, and who
“ hath been so long condemned by the universal O-
“ pinion of the World ? To pass over the foul
“ Stains and Ignominy of his Youth, his corrupt
“ Management in all Employments he hath borne,
“ his Treachery and Irreligion, his Injustice and Op-
“ pression, he hath left, of late, such Monuments of
“ his Villainies in *Sicily*, made such Havock and
“ Confusion there, during his Government, that the
“ Province cannot by any means be restored to its
“ former State, and hardly recover itself at all under
“ many

“ many Years, and by a long Succession of good
 “ Governors. While this Man governed in that
 “ Island, the *Sicilians* had neither the Benefit of our
 “ Laws, nor their own, nor even of common Right.
 “ In *Sicily* no Man now possesseth more than what
 “ the Governor’s Lust and Avarice have overlooked,
 “ or what he was forced to neglect, out of mere
 “ Weariness and Satiety of Oppression. Every thing,
 “ where he presided, was determined by his arbitrary
 “ Will; and the best Subjects he treated as Enemies.
 “ To recount his abominable Debaucheries would of-
 “ fend any modest Ear, since so many could not pre-
 “ serve their Daughters and Wives from his Lust.
 “ I believe there is no Man who ever heard his
 “ Name, that cannot relate his Enormities. We
 “ bring before you in Judgment, my Lords, a pub-
 “ lick Robber, an Adulterer, a DEFILER OF AL-
 “ TARS^a, an Enemy of Religion and all that is sac-
 “ cred. In *Sicily* he sold all Employments of Judica-
 “ ture, Magistracy, and Trust, Places in the Coun-
 “ cil, and the *Priesthood* itself, to the highest Bidder;
 “ and hath plundered that Island of Forty Millions of
 “ Sesterces. And here I cannot but observe to your
 “ Lordships, in what Manner *Verres* passed the
 “ Day: The Morning was spent in taking Bribes
 “ and selling Employments, the rest of it in Drunk-
 “ enness and Lust. His Discourse at Table was
 “ scandalously unbecoming the Dignity of his Sta-
 “ tion; Noise, Brutality, and Obsceneness. One Par-
 “ ticular I cannot omit; that in the high Character
 “ of Governor of *Sicily*, upon a solemn Day, a Day
 “ set apart for publick Prayer for the Safety of the
 “ Commonwealth, he stole at Evening in a Chair,

^a The Story of the Lord *Wharton* is true; who, with some
 other Wretches, went into a Pulpit, and defiled it in the most
 filthy Manner.

“to a married Woman of infamous Character, a-
 “gainst all Decency and Prudence, as well as a-
 “gainst all Laws both Human and Divine. Didst
 “thou think, O *Verres*! the Government of *Sicily*
 “was given thee with so large a Commission, only,
 “by the Power of that, to break all the Bars of Law,
 “Modesty, and Duty; to suppose all Mens Fortunes
 “thine, and leave no House free from thy Rapine;
 “or Lust?” &c.

THIS Extract, to deal ingenuously, hath cost me
 more Pains than I think it is worth; having only
 served to convince me, that modern Corruptions are
 not to be paralleled by ancient Examples, without
 having Recourse to Poetry or Fable. For instance,
 I never read in Story of a Law enacted to take
 away the Force of all Laws whatsoever; by which
 a Man may safely commit upon the last of *June*
 what he would infallibly be hanged for if he commit-
 ted it on the first of *July*; by which the greatest Cri-
 minals may escape, provided they continue long e-
 nough in Power to antedate their Crimes, and, by
 stifling them a while, can deceive the Legislature into
 an *Amnesty*; of which the Enactors do not at that
 Time foresee the Consequence. A cautious Merchant
 will be apt to suspect, when he finds a Man who has
 the repute of a cunning Dealer, and with whom he
 hath old Accounts, urging for a general Release.
 When I reflect on this Proceeding, I am not surpris-
 ed that those who contrived a Parliamentary *Sponge* for
 their Crimes, are now afraid of a new Revolution
Sponge for their Money: And if it were possible to
 contrive a *Sponge* that could only affect those who
 had need of the other, perhaps it would not be ill
 employed.

T H E
E X A M I N E R.

N U M B E R X V I I I .

Thursday, December 7, 1710.

*Quippe ubi fas versum atque nefas, tot bella per orbem,
Tam multæ Scelerum facies*——

I Am often violently tempted to let the World freely know who the Author of this Paper is, to tell them my Name and Titles at length; which would prevent Abundance of inconsistent Criticisms I daily hear upon it. Those who are Enemies to the Notions and Opinions I would advance are sometimes apt to quarrel with the *Examiner*, as defective in Point of Wit, and sometimes of Truth. At other Times they are so generous and candid to allow it is written by a Club, and that very great *Hands* have *Fingers* in it. As for those who only appear its Adversaries in Print, they give me but very little Pain. The Paper I hold, lies at my Mercy, and I can govern it as I please; therefore, when I begin to find the Wit too bright, the Learning too deep, and the Satire too keen for me to deal with (a very frequent Case,

Case no doubt, where a Man is constantly attacked by such shrewd Adversaries) I peaceably fold it up, or fling it aside and read no more. It would be happy for me to have the same Power over People's Tongues, and not be forced to hear my own Work railed at, and commended, fifty times a Day; affecting all the while a Countenance wholly unconcerned, and joining, out of Policy or Good Manners, with the Judgment of both Parties: 'This, I confess, is too great a Hardship for so bashful and unexperienced a Writer.

BUT, alas, I lie under another Discouragement of much more Weight. I was very unfortunate in the Choice of my Party, when I set up to be a Writer. Where is the Merit, or what Opportunity to discover our Wit, our Courage, or our Learning, in drawing our Pens for the Defence of a Cause, which the QUEEN and both Houses of Parliament, and nine Parts in ten of the Kingdom, have so unanimously embraced? I am cruelly afraid we politick Authors must begin to lessen our Expences, and lie, for the future, at the Mercy of our Printers. All Hopes are now gone of writing ourselves into Places or Pensions. A certain starveling Author, who *worked* under the late Administration, told me, with a heavy Heart, about a Month ago, that he, and some others of his Brethren, had secretly offered their Service, dog-cheap, to the present Ministry, but were all refused; and are now maintained by Contribution, like *Jacobites* or *Fanaticks*. I have been of late employed, out of perfect Commiseration; in doing them good Offices: For, whereas some were of Opinion that these hungry Zealots should not be suffered any longer in their malapart Way, to snarl at the present Course of publick Proceedings; and whereas others proposed that they should be limited to a certain

Number,

Number, and permitted to write for their *Masters*, in the same Manner as Counsel are assigned for other Criminals; that is, to say all they can in Defence of their Client, but not reflect upon the Court. I humbly gave my Advice, that they should be suffered to write on, as they used to do; which I did purely out of regard to their Persons; for I hoped it would keep them out of Harm's Way, and prevent them from falling into evil Courses; which, although of little Consequence to the Publick, would certainly be *fatal to themselves*. If I have room, at the Bottom of this Paper I will transcribe a Petition to the present Ministry, sent me by one of these Authors, in behalf of himself and Fourscore of his Brethren.

For my own Part, notwithstanding the little Encouragement to be hoped for at this time from the Men in Power, I shall continue my Paper 'till either the World or myself grow weary of it: The latter is easily determined; and for the former, I shall not leave it to the Partiality of either Party, but to the infallible Judgment of my Printer. One principal End I designed by it, was to undeceive those well-meaning People, who have been drawn unawares into a wrong Sense of Things, either by the common Prejudices of Education and Company, the great Personal Qualities of some Party-leaders, or the foul Misrepresentations that were constantly made of all who durst differ from them in the smallest Article. I have known such Men struck with the Thoughts of some late Changes, which, as they pretend to think, were made without any Reason visible to the World. In answer to this, it is not sufficient to alledge, what no body doubts, that a good and wise Prince may be allowed to change his Ministers without giving a Reason to his Subjects; because it is probable that he will not make such a Change without very important Reasons; and

and a good Subject ought to suppose, that in such a Case there are such Reasons, although he be not apprised of them; otherwise he must inwardly tax his Prince of Capriciousness, Inconstancy, or ill Design. Such Reasons, indeed, may not be obvious to Persons prejudiced, or at a great Distance, or short Thinkers; and therefore if they be no Secrets of State, nor any ill Consequences to be apprehended from their Publication, it is no uncommendable Work in any private Hand to lay them open for the Satisfaction of all Men. And, if what I have already said, or shall hereafter say, of this Kind, be thought to reflect upon *Persons*, although none have been named, I know not how it can possibly be avoided. The Queen, in her Speech, mentions, *with great Concern*, that the *Navy and other Offices are burthened with heavy Debts*; and desires that the like may be prevented for the Time to come. And, if it be now possible to prevent the Continuance of an Evil that hath been so long growing upon us, and is arrived to such a Height; surely those Corruptions and Mismanagements must have been great, which first introduced them, before our Taxes were eaten up by Annuities.

If I were able to rip up and discover, in all their Colours, only about Eight or Nine thousand of the most scandalous Abuses that have been committed in all Parts of publick Management, for Twenty Years past, by a certain Set of Men and their Instruments, I should reckon it some Service to my Country and Posterity. But, to say the Truth, I should be glad the Authors Names were conveyed to future Times along with their Actions. For although the present Age may understand well enough the little Hints we give, the Parallels we draw, and the Characters we describe; yet all this will be lost to the next. However, if these Papers, *reduced into a more durable Form*, should

should happen to live until our Grand-children be Men, I hope they may have Curiosity enough to consult Annals and compare Dates, in order to find out what *Names* were then intrusted with the Conduct of Affairs, in the Consequences whereof themselves will so deeply share; like a heavy Debt in a private Family, which often lies an Incumbrance upon an Estate for three Generations.

BUT leaving the Care of informing Posterity to better Pens; I shall, with due Regard to Truth, Discretion, and the Safety of my Person from the Men of the *new-fangled Moderation*, continue to take all proper Opportunities of letting the mislead Part of the People see how grossly they have been abused, and in what Particulars. I shall also endeavour to convince them that the present Course we are in is the most probable Means, with the Blessing of God, to extricate ourselves out of all our Difficulties.

AMONG those who are pleased to write or talk against this Paper, I have observed a strange Manner of Reasoning, which I should be glad to hear them explain themselves upon. They make no Ceremony of exclaiming; upon all Occasions, against a Change of Ministry, in so critical and dangerous a Conjunction. What shall we, who heartily approve and join in those Proceedings, say in Defence of them?

We own the Juncture of Affairs to be as they describe: We are pushed for an Answer, and are forced at last freely to confess, that the Corruptions and Abuses in every Branch of the Administration were so numerous and intolerable; that all Things must have ended in Ruin, without some speedy Reformation: This I have already asserted in a former Paper; and the Replies I have read, or heard, have been in plain Terms to affirm the direct contrary: and not only to defend and celebrate the late Persons and Proceed-

ings.

ings, but to threaten me with Law and Vengeance for casting Reflections on so many great and honourable Men, whose *Birth, Virtues, and Abilities, whose Morals and Religion, whose Love of their Country, and its Constitution in Church and State*, were so universally allowed; and all this set off with odious Comparisons, reflecting on the present Choice: Is not this in plain and direct Terms to tell all the World that the Queen hath, in a most dangerous Crisis, turned out a whole Set of the best Ministers that ever served a Prince, without any manner of Reason, but her Royal Pleasure, and brought in others of a Character directly contrary? And how so vile an Opinion as this can consist with the least Pretence to Loyalty or good Manners, let the World determine.

I CONFESS myself so little a Refiner in Politicks, as not to be able to discover what other Motive, besides Obedience to the QUEEN, a Sense of publick Danger, and a true Love of their Country, joined with invincible Courage, could spirit up those great Men who have now, under her Majesty's Authority, undertaken the Direction of Affairs. What can they expect but the utmost Efforts of Malice, from a Set of enraged domestick Adversaries, perpetually watching over their Conduct, crossing all their Designs, and using every Art to foment Divisions among them, in order to join with the weakest, upon any Rupture? The Difficulties they must encounter are Nine times more and greater than ever; and the Prospects of Interest, after the *Reapings and Gleanings* of so many Years, Nine times less. Every Misfortune at home or abroad, although the necessary Consequence of former Counsels, will be imputed to them; and all the good Success given to the Merit of former Schemes. A Sharper hath held your Cards all the Evening, plaid Booty, and lost your Money,

and, when Things are almost desperate, you employ an honest Gentleman to retrieve your Losses.

I WOULD ask, Whether the Queen's SPEECH doth not contain her Intentions, in every Particular, relating to the Publick, that a good Subject, a Briton, and a Protestant can possibly have at Heart? *To carry on the War in all its Parts, particularly in Spain, with the utmost Vigour, in order to procure a safe and honourable Peace for Us and our Allies; to find some Ways of paying the Debts of the Navy; to support and encourage the Church of England; to preserve the British Constitution, according to the Union; to maintain the Indulgence by Law allowed to scrupulous Consciences; and to employ none but such as are for the Protestant Succession in the House of Hanover.* It is known enough, that Speeches on these Occasions are ever digested by the Advice of those who are in the chief Confidence; and consequently, that these are the Sentiments of her Majesty's Ministers, as well as her own; and, we see, the two Houses have unanimously agreed with her in every Article. When the least Counterpaces are made to any of these Resolutions, it will then be time enough for our Malecontents to bawl out *Popery, Persecution, Arbitrary Power, and the Pretender.* In the mean while it is a little hard to think that this Island can hold but six Men of Honesty and Ability enough to serve their Prince and Country; or that our Safety should depend upon their Credit, any more than it would upon the Breath in their Nostrils. Why should not a *Revolution* in the Ministry be sometimes necessary, as well as a *Revolution* in the Crown? It is to be presumed the former is at least as lawful in itself, and perhaps the Experiment not quite so dangerous. The *Revolution* of the Sun round the Earth was formerly thought a necessary Expedient to solve Appearances

ances although it left many Difficulties unanswered ; until Philosophers contrived a better, which is, that of the *Earth's Revolution* about the *Sun*. This is found, upon Experience, to save much Trouble and Labour, to correct many irregular Motions, and is better suited to the Respect due from a *Planet* to a *fixed Star*.



T H E

E X A M I N E R.

N U M B E R X I X .

Thursday, December 14, 1710.

*Sunt quibus in satyra videar nimis acer, et ultra
Legem tendere opus : sine nervis altera quicquid
Composui pars esse putat —*

WHEN the Printer came last Week for his Copy, he brought along with him a Bundle of those Papers, which, in the Phrase of *Whig-Coffee-houses*, have *swing'd off the Examiner* ; most of which I had never seen or heard of before. I remember, some time ago, in one of the *Tatlers*, to have read a Letter, wherein several Reasons are assigned for the present Corruption and Degeneracy of our Taste ; but I think the Writer hath omitted the principal one, which I take to be the Prejudice of Parties. Neither can I excuse either Side of this Infirmary : I have heard the arrantest Drivellers *Pro* and *Con* commended for their Shrewdness, even by Men of tolerable Judgment ; and the best Performances exploded, as Nonsense and Stupidity. This, indeed, may partly be

be imputed to Policy and Prudence ; but it is chiefly owing to that Blindness which Prejudice and Passion cast over the Understanding : I mention this because I think it properly within my Province, in Quality of *Examiner*. And having granted more than is usual for an Enemy to do, I must now take leave to say, that so weak a *Cause*, and so ruined a *Faction* were never provided with Pens more resembling their Condition, or less suited to their Occasions.

*Non tali auxilio, nec defensoribus istis,
Tempus eget* —————

THIS is the more to be wondered at, when we consider that they have the full Liberty of the Press ; that they have no other Way left to recover themselves ; and that they want not Men of excellent Parts to set their Arguments in the best Light they will bear. Now, if two Men would argue on both Sides with Fairness, good Sense, and good Manners, it would be no ill Entertainment to the Town, and, perhaps, be the most effectual Means to reconcile us. But I am apt to think, that Men of great Genius are hardly brought to prostitute their Pens in a very odious *Cause* ; which, besides, is more properly undertaken by Noise and Impudence, by gross Railing, and Scurrility, by Calumny and Lying, and by little trifling Cavils and Carplings in the wrong Place, which those *Whiffers* use for Arguments and Answers.

I WAS well enough pleased with a Story of one of these Answerers, who, in a Paper last Week, found many Faults with a Calculation of mine. Being, it seems, more deeply learned than his Fellows, he was resolved to begin his Answer with a *Latin Verse*, as well as other Folks. His Business was to look out for something against an *Examiner* that would pre-

tend to *tax* Accounts; and, turning over *Virgil*, he had the Luck to find these Words,

— *Fugiant examina taxos:*

So down they went, and out they would have come, if one of his unlucky *Prompters* had not hindered it.

I HERE declare, once for all, that if these People will not be quiet, I shall take the Bread out of their Mouths, and answer the *Examiner* myself; which I protest I have never yet done, although I have been often charged with it; neither have those Answers been written or published with my Privy, as malicious People are pleased to give out; nor do I believe the common *Whiggish* Report, That the Authors are hired by the Ministry, to give my Paper a Value.

BUT the Friends of this Paper have given me more Uneasiness with their Impatience, than its Enemies by their Answers. I heard myself censured, last Week, by some of the former, for promising to discover the Corruptions of the late Administration, but never performing any thing. The latter, on the other Side, are thundering out their *Anathemas* against me, for discovering so many. I am at a Loss how to decide between these Contraries, and shall therefore proceed my own Way, as I have hitherto done; my Design being of more Importance than that of writing only to gratify the Spleen of one Side, or provoke that of the other, although it may occasionally have both Effects.

I SHALL therefore go on to relate some Facts, that, in my humble Opinion, were no Hindrance to the Change of the Ministry.

THE first that I shall mention, was That of introducing certain new Phrases into the Court Style, which had been very seldom, or never, made use of in former Times. They usually ran in the following

ing Terms : “ Madam, I cannot serve you while such
 “ a One is in Employment. I desire, humbly, to re-
 “ sign my Commission, if Mr. — continues Secre-
 “ tary of State. I cannot answer that the City will
 “ lend Money, unless my L—d — be President
 “ of the Council. I must beg leave to surrender, ex-
 “ cept — has the Staff. I must not accept the
 “ Seals, unless — comes into the other Office.”

This hath been the Language, of late Years, from
 Subjects to their Prince. Thus they stood upon Terms,
 and must have their own Conditions to ruin the Na-
 tion. Nay, this dutiful Manner of capitulating had
 spread so far, that every Understrapper began at length
 to perk up and assume ; he *expected a Regiment* ; or *his*
Son must be a Major ; or *his Brother a Collector* ; else
 he threatened to *vote according to his Conscience*.

ANOTHER of their glorious Attempts was the
 Clause intended in the Bill *for the Encouragement of*
Learning, by taking off the Obligation upon Fellows
 of Colleges, in both Universities, to enter upon Ho-
 ly Orders : The Design of which, as I have heard
 the Undertakers often confess, was to remove the
 Care of educating Youth out of the Hands of the
 Clergy, who are apt to infuse into their Pupils too
 great a Regard for the Church and the Monarchy.
 But there was a farther Secret in this Clause, which
 may best be discovered by the Projectors, or, at
 least, the *Garblers* of it ; and these are known to be
Collins and Tindal, in Conjunction with a most *pious*
Lawyer, their Disciple.

WHAT shall we say to their prodigious Skill in
Arithmetick, discovered so constantly in their Decision
 of Elections ; where they are able to make out, by
 the *Rule of False*, that *Three* were more than *Three*
 and *twenty*, and *Fifteen* than *Fifty* ? Nay, it was a
 Maxim, which I never heard any of them dispute,

that in determining Elections they were not to consider where the Right lay, but which of the *Candidates* was likelier to be true to the *Cause*. This they used to illustrate by a very apt and decent Similitude of gaming with a Sharper; if you cannot cheat as well as he, you are certainly undone.

ANOTHER Cast of their Politicks was that of endeavouring to impeach an innocent *Lady*^a, for no Reason imaginable, but her faithful and diligent Service to the Queen, and the Favour her Majesty bore to her upon that Account, when others had acted contrary, in so shameful a manner. What else was the Crime? Had she *treated her Royal Mistress with Insolence or Neglect*? Had she *enriched herself*, by a long *Practise of Bribery*, or obtaining exorbitant Grants? Had she *engrossed her Majesty's Favours*, without admitting any Access but through her Means? Had she *heaped Employments upon herself, her Family, and Dependants*? Had she *an imperious haughty Behaviour*? Or, after all, was it a perfect Blunder and Mistake of *one Person for another*? I have heard of a Man who lay all Night on a rough Pavement, and in the Morning wondring what it could possibly be that made him rest so ill, happening to see a Feather under him, imputed the Un easiness of his Lodging to that. I remember likewise the Story of a Giant in *Rabelais*, who used to feed upon *Wind-mills*, but was unfortunately choaked with a small Lump of *fresh Butter*, before a warm Oven.

AND here I cannot but observe how very refined some People are in their Generosity and Gratitude. There is a certain great Person (I shall not say of what Sex) who for many Years past was the constant Mark and Butt, against which our present Male-

^a The Lady Masham.

contents used to discharge their Resentment ; upon whom they bestowed all the Terms of Scurrility that Malice, Envy, and Indignation could invent ; whom they publickly accused of every Vice that can possess a human Heart ; Pride, Covetousness, Ingratitude, Oppression, Treachery, Dissimulation, Violence, and Fury, all in the highest Extremes : But of late they have changed their Language on a sudden ; that Person is now the most faithful and just that ever served a Prince ; that Person originally differing from them in Principles, as far as East from West, but united in Practice, and falling together, they are now reconciled, and find twenty Resemblances between each other, which they could never discover before. *Tanti est, ut placeam tibi, perire !*

BUT to return : How could it be longer suffered in a free Nation, that all Avenues to Preferment should be shut up, except a very few ; when one or two stood constant *Centry*, who docked all Favours handed down, or spread a huge invifible Net between the Prince and Subject, through which nothing of Value could pass ? And here I cannot but admire at one Consequence from this Management, which is of an extraordinary Nature. Generally speaking, Princes, who have ill Ministers, are apt to suffer in their Reputation, as well as in the Love of the People : But it was not so with the Queen. When the Sun is overcast by those Clouds he exhales from the Earth, we still acknowledge his Light and Influence, and at last find he can dispel, and drive them down to the Horizon. The wisest Prince, by the Necessity of Affairs, the Misrepresentations of designing Men, or the innocent Mistakes even of a good Predecessor, may find himself encompassed by a Crew of Courtiers whom Time, Opportunity, and Success have miserably corrupted. And if he can save himself and his
People

People from Ruin, under the *worst* Administration, what may not his Subjects hope for, when, with their universal Applause, he changeth Hands, and maketh use of the *best*?

ANOTHER great Objection with me against the late Party, was the cruel Tyranny they put upon *Conscience*, by a *barbarous Inquisition*, refusing to admit the least *Toleration* or *Indulgence*. They imposed an hundred *Tests*, but could never be prevailed on to *dispense* with, or *take off*, the smallest, or even admit of *occasional Conformity*; but went on daily (as their Apostle *Tindal* expresseth it) *narrowing their Terms of Communion*, pronouncing Nine Parts in Ten of the Kingdom *Hereticks*, and shutting them out of the Pale of their Church. These very Men who talk so much of a *Comprehension in Religion* among us, how came they to allow so little of it in *Politicks*, which is *their Sole Religion*? You shall hear them pretending to bewail the Animosities kept up between the Church of *England* and Dissenters, where the Differences in Opinion are so few and inconsiderable; yet these very Sons of *Moderation* were pleased to *excommunicate* every Man who disagreed with them in the smallest *Article* of their *Political Creed*, or who refused to receive any new *Article*, how difficult soever to digest, which the Leaders imposed at Pleasure, to serve their own Interest.

I WILL quit this Subject for the present, when I have told one Story. “ There was a great King in
 “ *Scythia*, whose Dominions were bounded on the
 “ North by the poor mountainous Territories of a
 “ petty Lord, who paid Homage, as the King’s Vassal. The *Scythian Prime Minister*, being largely
 “ *bribed*, indirectly obtained his Master’s Consent
 “ to suffer this Lord to build Forts, and provide him-
 “ self with Arms, under Pretence of preventing the
 “ Inroads

“ Inroads of the *Tartars*. This little depending
“ Sovereign, finding he was now in a Condition to
“ be troublesome, began to insist upon Terms, and
“ threatned, upon every Occasion, to unite with
“ the *Tartars* : Upon which the *Prime Minister*,
“ who began to be in pain about his *Head*, proposed
“ a *Match* betwixt his Master and the only Daugh-
“ ter of this tributary Lord, which he had the good
“ Luck to bring to pass; and from that Time valu-
“ ed himself as Author of a most glorious *Union*
“ which indeed was grown of absolute Necessity by
“ his Corruption.” This Passage, cited literally
from an old History of *Sarmatia*, I thought fit to
set down, on purpose to perplex little smattering
Remarkers, and put them upon the hunt for an Ap-
plication.



THE

THE
EXAMINER.

NUMBER XX.

Thursday, December 21, 1710.

— *Pugnacem scirent sapiente minorem.*

I Am very much at a loss how to proceed upon the Subject intended in this Paper, which a new Incident hath led me to engage in. The Subject I mean, is that of Soldiers and the *Army*; but being a Matter wholly out of my Trade, I shall handle it in as cautious a Manner as I am able.

It is certain that the Art of War hath suffered great Changes, almost in every Age and Country of the World; however there are some Maxims relating to it that will be eternal Truths, and which every reasonable Man must allow.

In the early Times of *Greece* and *Rome*, the Armies of those States were composed of their Citizens, who took no Pay, because the Quarrel was their own, and therefore the War was usually decided in one Campaign; or, if it lasted longer, yet in Winter the Soldiers returned to their several Callings, and
were

were not distinguished from the rest of the People. The *Gothick* Governments in *Europe*, although they were of military Institution, yet observed almost the same Method. I shall instance only here in *England*: Those who held Lands *in capite* of the King, were obliged to attend him in his Wars, with a certain number of Men, who all held Lands from them at easy Rents, on that Condition. These fought without Pay; and, when the Service was over, returned again to their Farms. It is recorded of *William Rufus*, that, being absent in *Normandy*, and engaged in a War with his Brother, he ordered twenty thousand Men to be raised and sent over from hence, to supply his Army; but having struck up a Peace before they were embarked, he gave them leave to disband, upon Condition they would pay him ten Shillings a Man, which amounted to a mighty Sum in those Days.

CONSIDER a Kingdom as a great Family, whereof the Prince is the Father, and it will appear plainly that mercenary Troops are only *Servants armed*, either to awe the *Children* at home, or else to defend, from Invaders, the Family, who are otherwise employed, and chuse to contribute out of their Stock for paying their Defenders, rather than leave their Affairs to be neglected in their Absence. The Art of making Soldiery a Trade, and keeping Armies in Pay, seems in *Europe* to have had two Originals; the first was *Usurpation*, when popular Men destroyed the Liberties of their Country, and seized the Power into their own Hands, which they were forced to maintain by hiring Guards to bridle the People. Such were anciently the *Tyrants* in most of the small States of *Greece*; and such were those in several Parts of *Italy*, about three or four Centuries ago, as *Machiavel* informs us. The other Original of mercenary Armies seems to have risen from larger Kingdoms, or Commonwealths, which

which had subdued Provinces at a Distance, and were forced to maintain Troops upon them, to prevent Insurrections from the Natives. Of this Sort were *Macedon*, *Carthage*, and *Rome* of old; *Venice* and *Holland*, at this day; as well as most Kingdoms of *Europe*. So that mercenary Forces in a free State, whether *Monarchy* or *Commonwealth*, seem only necessary, either for preserving their Conquests (which in such Governments it is not prudent to extend too far) or else for maintaining a War at a distance.

In this last, which at present is our most important Case, there are certain Maxims that all wise Governments have observed.

THE first I shall mention is, That no *private* Man should have a Commission to be *General for Life*, let his Merit and Services be ever so great. Or, if a Prince be unadvisedly brought to offer such a Commission in one Hand, let him (to save Time and Blood) deliver up his *Crown* with the other. The *Romans*, in the Height and Perfection of their Government, usually sent out one of their new *Consuls* to be General against their most formidable Enemy, and recalled the old one, who often returned before the next Election; and, according as he had Merit, was sent to command in some other Part, which, perhaps was continued to him for a second, and sometimes a third Year. But if *Paulus Æmilius*, or *Scipio* himself, had presumed to move the *Senate* to continue their *Commissions for Life*, they would certainly have fallen a Sacrifice to the Jealousy of the People. *Cæsar*, indeed (between whom and a certain *General*, some of late, with much Discretion, have made a *Parallel*) had his Command in *Gaul* continued to him for five Years, and was afterwards made perpetual *Dictator*, that is to say *General for Life*, which gave him the Power and the Will of utterly destroying the
the

the *Roman Liberty*. But in his Time the *Romans* were very much degenerated, and great Corruption, had crept into their Morals and Discipline. However, we see there still were some Remains of a noble Spirit among them ; for when *Cæsar* sent to be chosen *Consul*, notwithstanding his Absence, they decreed he should come in Person, give up his Commands, and *petere more majorum*.

It is not impossible but a *General* may desire such a Commission out of *Inadvertency*, at the *Infligation* of his *Friends*, or, perhaps, of his *Enemies* ; or merely for the *Benefit and Honour* of it, without intending any such *dreadful Consequences* ; and in that Case a wise Prince, or State, may barely refuse it, without shewing any Marks of their Displeasure. But the Request, in its own Nature, is highly criminal, and ought to be entered so upon Record, to terrify others, in Time to come, from venturing to make it.

ANOTHER Maxim to be observed by a free State engaged in War, is to keep the military Power in absolute Subjection to the Civil, nor ever suffer the former to influence or interfere with the latter. A General and his Army are *Servants*, hired by the Civil Power, to act as they are directed from thence, and with a Commission, large or limited, as the Administration shall think fit ; for which they are largely paid in Profit and Honour. The whole System by which Armies are governed, is quite *alien* from the peaceful Institutions of States at home ; and if the Rewards be so inviting as to tempt a *Senator* to take a Post in the Army, whilst he is there on his Duty, he ought to consider himself in no other Capacity. I know not any Sort of Men so apt as Soldiers are, to reprimand those who presume to interfere in what relates to their Trade.

When

When they hear any of us, in a Coffee-house, wondering that such a Victory was not pursued ; complaining that such a Town cost more Men and Money than it was worth to take it ; or that such an Opportunity was lost of fighting the Enemy ; they presently reprove us, and often with Justice enough, for meddling in Matters out of our Sphere ; and clearly convince us of our Mistakes, in Terms of Art that none of us understand. Nor do we escape so, for they reflect, with the utmost Contempt, on our Ignorance ; that we, who sit at home with Ease and Security, never stirring from our Fire-sides, should pretend from Books, and general Reason, to argue upon military Affairs ; which, after all, if we may judge from the Share of Intellectuals in some who are said to excel that Way, is not so very profound, or difficult a Science. But if there be any Weight in what they offer, as perhaps there may be a great deal, surely these Gentlemen have a much weaker Pretence to concern themselves in Matters of the Cabinet, which are always either far above, or much beside their Capacities. Soldiers may as well pretend to prescribe Rules for Trade, to determine Points in Philosophy, to be Moderators in an Assembly of Divines, or direct in a Court of Justice, as to misplace their Talent in examining Affairs of State, especially in what relates to the *Choice of Ministers*, who are never so likely to be ill chosen as when approved by them. It would be endless to shew how pernicious all Steps of this Nature have been, in many Parts and Ages of the World. I shall only produce two at present ; one in *Rome*, the other in *England*. The first is of *Cæsar*. When he came to the City with his Soldiers to *settle the Ministry*, there was an End of their Liberty for ever. The second was in the great Rebellion against King *Charles the First* :

The King and both Houses were agreed upon the Terms of a Peace; but the Officers of the Army (as *Ludlow* relates it) set a Guard upon the House of Commons, took a List of the Members, and kept all by Force out of the House, except those who were for bringing the King to a Trial. Some Years after, when they erected a Military Government, and ruled the Island by *Major Generals*, we received most admiral Instances of their Skill in Politicks. To say the Truth, such formidable Sticklers can have but two Reasons for desiring to interfere in the Administration; the first is that of *Cæsar* and *Cromwell*, of which God forbid I should accuse or suspect any body, since the second is pernicious enough, and that is, *To preserve those in Power who are for perpetuating a War, rather than see others advanced, who, they are sure, will use all proper Means to promote a safe and honourable Peace.*

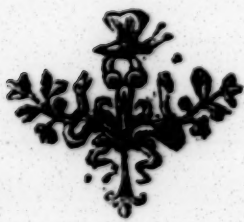
THIRDLY, since it is observed of Armies, that in the present Age they are brought to some Degree of Humanity, and a more regular Demeanour to each other, and to the World, than in former Times, it is certainly a good Maxim to endeavour preserving this Temper among them; without which they would soon degenerate into *Savages*. To this End it would be prudent, among other Things, to forbid that detestable Custom of *drinking to the Damnation, or Confusion*, of any Person whatsoever.

SUCH desperate Acts, and the Opinions infused along with them into Heads already inflamed by Youth and Wine, are enough to scatter Madness and Sedition through a whole Camp. So seldom upon *their Knees to pray*, and so often to *curse*! This is not properly Atheism, but a Sort of *Anti-religion* prescribed by the Devil, and which an Atheist of common Sense would scorn as an Absurdity. I have

heard it mentioned as a common Practice last Autumn, *somewhere or other*, to drink *Damnation and Confusion* (and this with Circumstances very aggravating and horrid) to the *new Ministry*, and to those who *had any Hand* in turning out the *old*, that is to say, to those Persons whom her Majesty has thought fit to employ in her greatest Affairs; with something *more than a Glance against the Queen herself*. And if it be true, that these *Orgies* were attended with certain *doubtful Words*, of *standing by their General*, who, without Question, abhorred them, let any Man consider the Consequence of such Dispositions, if they should happen to spread. I could only wish, for the Honour of the Army, as well as of the Queen and Ministry, that a Remedy had been applied to the Disease in the *Place* and *Time* where it grew. If Men of such Principles were able to propagate them in a Camp, and were sure of a *General for Life* who had any Tincture of Ambition, we might soon bid farewell to Ministers and Parliaments, whether new or old.

I AM only sorry such an Accident hath happened towards the Close of a War, when it is chiefly the Interest of those Gentlemen who have Posts in the Army, to behave themselves in such a Manner as might encourage the Legislature to make some Provision for them, when there will be no further need of their Service. They are to consider themselves as Persons, by their Education, unqualified for many other Stations of Life. Their Fortunes will not suffer them to retain to a Party after its *Fall*, nor have they Weight or Abilities to help towards its *Resurrection*. Their future Dependence is wholly upon the Prince and Parliament, to which they will never make their Way by *solemn Execrations of the Ministry*; a Ministry of the Queen's own Election, and
full y

fully answering the Wishes of her People. This unhappy Step in some of *their Brethren* may pass for an uncontrollable Argument, that Politicks are not their Business, or their Element. The Fortune of War hath raised several Persons up to swelling Titles, and great Commands over Numbers of Men, which they are too apt to transfer along with them into Civil Life, and appear in all Companies as if they were at the Head of their Regiments, with a Sort of Deportment that ought to have been dropt behind in that short Passage to *Harwich*. It puts me in mind of a Dialogue in *Lucian*, where *Charon* wafting one of their Predecessors over *Styx*, ordered him to strip off his Armour and fine Cloaths, yet still thought him too heavy; *But*, said he, *put off likewise that Pride and Presumption, those high swelling Words, and that Vain-glory*; because they were of no use on the other Side the Water. Thus, if all that Array of Military Grandeur were confined to the proper Scene, it would be much more for the Interest of the Owners, and less offensive to their fellow Subjects.



THE
EXAMINER.

NUMBER XXI.

Thursday, December 28, 1710.

*Nam & majorum instituta tueri, sacris ceremoniisque
retinendis, sapientis est.*

— *Ruituraque semper
Stat (mirum!) moles.*

WHoever is a true Lover of our Constitution, must needs be pleased to see what successful Endeavours are daily made to restore it, in every Branch, to its ancient Form, from the languishing Condition it hath long lain in, and with such deadly Symptoms.

I HAVE already handled some Abuses during the late Management, and shall, in convenient Time, go on with the rest. Hitherto I have confined myself to those of the State; but, with the good Leave of some who think it a Matter of small moment, I shall now take Liberty to say something of the Church.

FOR

FOR several Years past, there hath not, I think, in *Europe*, been any Society of Men upon so unhappy a Foot as the *Clergy of England*; or more hardly treated by those very Persons from whom they deserved much better Quarter, and in whose Power they chiefly had put it to use them so ill. I would not willingly misrepresent Facts, but I think it is generally allowed, by Enemies and Friends, that the bold and brave Defences made before the *Revolution*, against those many Invasions of our Rights, proceeded principally from the *Clergy*; who are likewise known to have rejected all Advances made them to close with the Measures at that Time concerting; while the *Dissenters*, to gratify their Ambition and Revenge, fell into the basest Compliances with the Court, approved of all Proceedings by their numerous and fulsome Addresses, and took Employments and Commissions by Virtue of the dispensing Power, against the direct Laws of the Land. All this is so true, that if ever the *Pretender* comes in, they will, next to those of his own Religion, have the fairest Claim and Pretensions to his Favour, from their Merit and eminent Services to his supposed Father, who, without such Encouragement, would probably never have been misled to go the Lengths he did. It should likewise be remembered, to the everlasting Honour of the *London Divines*, that in those dangerous Times they writ and published the best Collection of Arguments against *Papery* that ever appeared in the World. At the Revolution, the Body of the *Clergy* joined heartily in the common Cause (except a few, whose Sufferings, perhaps, have atoned for their Mistakes) like Men who are content to go about, for avoiding a Gulph or a Precipice, but come into the old strait Road again, as soon as they can. But another Temper had now begun to prevail: For, as in the Reign

of King *Charles* the First, several well-meaning People were ready to join in reforming some Abuses, while others, who had deeper Designs, were still calling out for a *thorough Reformation*, which ended at last in the Ruin of the Kingdom; so, after the late King's coming to the Throne, there was a restless Cry, from Men of *the same Principles*, for a *thorough Revolution*, which, as *some* were carrying it on, must have ended in the Destruction of the Monarchy and Church.

WHAT a violent Humour hath run ever since against the Clergy, and from what Corner spread and fomented, is, I believe, manifest to all Men. It looked like a set Quarrel against *Christianity*; and, if we call to mind several of the *Leaders*, it must, in a great measure, have been actually so. Nothing was more common in Writing and Conversation than to hear that Reverend Body charged in gross with what was utterly inconsistent: despised for their Poverty, hated for their Riches; reproached with Avarice, and taxed with Luxury; accused for promoting arbitrary Power, and for resisting the Prerogative; censured for their Pride, and scorned for their Meanness of Spirit. The Representatives of the lower Clergy were railed at, for disputing the Power of the Bishops, by the known Abhorrrers of Episcopacy; and abused for doing nothing in the Convocations, by those very Men who helped to bind up their Hands. The Vice, the Folly, the Ignorance of every single Man, were laid upon the Character: Their Jurisdiction, Censures, and Discipline trampled under Foot, yet mighty Complaints against their excessive Power: The Men of Wit employed to turn the Priesthood itself into Ridicule: In short, groaning every where under the Weight of Poverty, Oppression, Contempt, and Obloquy. A fair Return for the

the Time and Money spent in their Education, to fit them for the Service of the Altar; and a fair Encouragement for worthy Men to come into the Church. However, it may be some Comfort for Persons of that Holy Function, that their Divine Founder, as well as his *Harbinger*, met with the like Reception: *John came neither eating nor drinking, and they say, He hath a Devil; the Son of Man came eating and drinking, and they say, Behold a Glutton and a Wine-bibber, &c.*

IN this deplorable State of the Clergy, nothing but the Hand of Providence, working by its glorious Instrument the QUEEN, could have been able to turn the People's Hearts so surprisngly in their Favour. This Princess, destined for the Safety of *Europe*, and a Blessing to her Subjects, began her Reign with a noble Benefaction to the Church; and it was hoped the Nation would have followed such an Example; which nothing could have prevented but the false Politicks of a Set of Men, who form their Maxims upon those of every tottering Commonwealth, which is always struggling for Life, subsisting by Expedients, and often at the Mercy of every powerful Neighbour. These Men take it into their Imagination, that Trade can never flourish, unless the Country becomes a common Receptacle for all Nations, Religions, and Languages; a System only proper for small popular States, but altogether unworthy and below the Dignity of an Imperial Crown; which, with us, is best upheld by a Monarch in Possession of his just Prerogative, a Senate of Nobles and of Commons, and a Clergy established in its due Rights, with a suitable Maintenance by Law. But these Men come with the Spirit of *Shopkeepers* to frame Rules for the Administration of Kingdoms; or, as if they thought the whole Art of Government consisted in the Im-

portation of *Nutmegs*, and the Curing of *Herrings*, Such an Island as ours can afford enough to support the Majesty of a Crown, the Honour of a Nobility, and the Dignity of a Magistracy: We can encourage Arts and Sciences, maintain our Bishops and Clergy, and suffer our Gentry to live in a decent, hospitable Manner; yet still there will remain Hands sufficient for Trade and Manufactures, which do always, indeed, deserve the best Encouragement, but not to a Degree of sending every living Soul into the *Warehouse* or the *Workhouse*.

THIS Pedantry of Republican Politicks hath done infinite Mischief among us. To this we owe those noble Schemes of treating Christianity as a System of *Speculative Opinions*, which no Man should be bound to believe; of making the *Being*, and the Worship of God, a *Creature* of the State; in consequence of these, that the Teachers of Religion ought to hold their Maintenance at Pleasure, or live by the Alms and charitable Collection of the People, and be equally encouraged of all Opinions; that they should be *prescribed* what to teach, by those who are to learn from them, and, upon Default, have a *Staff* and a *Pair of Shoes* left at their Door; with many other Projects of equal Piety, Wisdom, and Good-nature.

BUT, God be thanked! they and their Schemes are vanished, and *their Places shall know them no more*. When I think of that Inundation of Atheism, Infidelity, Profaneness, and Licentiousness, which was like to overwhelm us, from what Mouths and Hearts it first proceeded, and how the People joined with the QUEEN's Endeavours to divert this Flood; I cannot but reflect on that remarkable Passage in the *Revelations*, where *the Serpent with SEVEN Heads cast out of his Mouth Water after the Wo-*

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man like a Flood, that he might cause her to be carried away of the Flood: But the EARTH helped the Woman, and the Earth opened her Mouth, and swallowed up the Flood which the Dragon had cast out of his Mouth. For the QUEEN having changed her Ministry suitable to her own Wisdom and the Wishes of her Subjects, and having called a Free Parliament, and at the same time summoned the Convocation, by her Royal Writ, as in all Times had been accustomed; and soon after their Meeting, sent a most gracious Letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury, to be communicated to the Bishops and Clergy of his Province; taking Notice of "the loose and profane Principles which had been openly scattered and propagated among her Subjects: That the Consultations of the Clergy were particularly requisite to repress and prevent such daring Attempts, for which her Subjects, from all Parts of the Kingdom, have shewn their just Abhorrence: She hopes the Endeavours of the Clergy, in this Respect, will not be unsuccessful; and for her Part, is ready to give them all fit Encouragement to proceed in the Dispatch of such Business as properly belongs to them; and to grant them Powers requisite to carry on so good a Work:" In Conclusion, "earnestly recommending to them, to avoid Disputes; and determining to do all that in her lies to compose and extinguish them."

It is to be hoped, that this last Part of her Majesty's Letter will be the first she will please to execute; for, it seems, this very Letter created the first Dispute; the Fact whereof was thus related: The Upper House having formed an Address to the QUEEN, before they received her Majesty's Letter, sent both Address and Letter together, to the Lower House, with a Message excusing their

not

not mentioning the Letter in the Address, because *this* was formed before the *other* was received. The Lower House returned them, with a Desire, That an Address might be formed, with due Regard and Acknowledgements for the Letter. After some Difficulties, the same Address was sent down again, with a Clause inserted, making some short mention of the said Letter. This the Lower House did not think sufficient, and sent it back again, with the same Request: Whereupon the Archbishop, after a short Consultation with some of his Brethern, immediately adjourned the Convocation for a Month; and no Address at all was sent to the QUEEN.

I UNDERSTAND not Ecclesiastical Affairs well enough to comment upon this Matter; but it seems to me, that all Methods of doing Service to the Church and Kingdom, by means of a *Convocation*, may be at any Time eluded, if there be no Remedy against such an Incident. And, if this Proceeding be agreeable to the Institution, *spiritual Assemblies* must needs be strangely contrived, very different from any *Lay Senate* yet known in the World. Surely, from the Nature of such a *Synod*, it must be a very unhappy Circumstance, when the Majority of the Bishops draws one Way, and that of the Lower Clergy another. The latter, I think, are not at this Time suspected for any Principles bordering upon those professed by Enemies to Episcopacy; and if they happen to differ from the greater Part of the *present Set* of Bishops, I doubt, it will call *some Things* to mind, that may turn the Scale of general Favour on the inferior Clergy's Side; who, with a profound Duty to her Majesty, are perfectly pleased with the *present Turn of Affairs*. Besides, *curious People* will be apt to enquire

quire into the *Dates of some Promotions*, to call to mind what Designs were then upon the Anvil; and from thence make *malicious Deductions*. Perhaps they will observe the Manner of Voting on the Bishops Bench, and compare it with what shall pass in the Upper House of Convocation. There is, however, one Comfort, that under the present Dispositions of the Kingdom, a Dislike to the Proceedings of any of their Lordships, even to the Number of a *Majority*, will be purely *personal*, and not turned to the Disadvantage of the *Order*. And for my Part, as I am a true Lover of the Church, I had rather find the Inclinations of the People favourable to *Episcopacy* in general, than see a Majority of Prelates cried up by those who are *known Enemies* to the Character. Nor, indeed, hath any thing given me more Offence, for several Years past, than to observe how *some* of that Bench have been caressed by *certain Persons*; and *others* of them openly celebrated by the infamous Pens of Atheists, Republicans, and Fanaticks.

TIME and *Mortality* can only remedy these Inconveniencies in the Church, which are not to be cured, like those in the State, by a *Change of Ministry*. If we may guess at the Temper of a *Convocation*, from the Choice of a *Prolocutor*, as it is usual to do that of a House of Commons by the *Speaker*, we may expect great Things from that Reverend Body, who have done themselves much Reputation by pitching upon a *Gentleman* of so much Piety, Wit, and Learning, for that Office; and one who is so thoroughly versed in those Parts of Knowledge which are proper for it. I am sorry that the three *Latin Speeches*, delivered

livered upon presenting the *Prolocutor*, were not made publick; they might, perhaps, have given us some Light into the Disposition of each House: And besides, one of them is said to be so peculiar in the Style and Matter, as might have made up in *Entertainment* what it wanted in *Instruction*.



THE

THE
EXAMINER.

NUMBER XXII.

Thursday, January 4, 1710.

*Nullæ sunt occultiores insidiæ, quam cæ, quæ latent in
simulatione officii, aut in aliquo necessitudinis no-
mine.*

THE following Answer is written in the true
Style, and with the usual Candour of such
Pieces; which I have imitated to the best of my
Skill, and doubt not but the Reader will be extreme-
ly satisfied with it.

*The EXAMINER Cross-examined; or,
A full Answer to the last EXAMINER.*

IF I durst be so bold with this Author, I would glad-
ly ask him a familiar Question; *Pray, Sir, who
made you an Examiner?* He talks, in one of his in-
fipid Papers, of *Eight or Nine Thousand Corruptions*,
while *We* are at the Head of Affairs; yet, in all this
Time, he hath hardly produced Fifty:

Parturiunt montes, &c.

HOR.

But I shall confine myself, at present, to his last Paper. He tells us, *The Queen began her Reign with a noble Benefaction to the Church.* Here's Priestcraft with a Witness! This is the constant Language of your *High-fliers*, to call those who are hired to teach the Religion of the Magistrate, by the Name of the Church. But this is not all; for in the very next Line he says, *It was hoped the Nation would have followed this Example.* You see the Faction begins already to speak out: This is an open Demand for the Abbey Lands; this furious Zealot would have us Priest-ridden again, like our Popish Ancestors; but it is to be hoped the Government will take timely Care to suppress such audacious Attempts; else we have spent so much Blood and Treasure to very little Purpose, in maintaining Religion and the Revolution. But what can we expect from a Man, who at one Blow endeavours to ruin our Trade? A Country, says he, *may flourish* (these are his own Words) *without being the common Receptacle for all Nations, Religions, and Languages.* What! we must immediately banish, or murder, the *Palatines*; forbid all foreign Merchants not only the *Exchange*, but the Kingdom; persecute the Dissenters with Fire and Faggot; and make it High-Treason to speak any other Tongue but *English*. In another Place he talks of a *Serpent with seven Heads*, which is a manifest Corruption of the Text; for the Words, *seven Heads*, are not mentioned in that Verse. However, we know what *Serpent* he would mean; a *Serpent with fourteen Legs*; or indeed no *Serpent* at all, but Seven great Men, who were the *best Ministers*, the *truest Protestants*, and the most *disinterested Patriots* that ever served a Prince. But nothing is so inconsistent

as this Writer. I know not whether to call him a Whig or a Tory, a Protestant or a Papist; he finds fault with Convocations; says, *they are Assemblies strangely contrived*; and yet lays the Fault upon Us, that we *bound their Hands*: I wish we could have bound their *Tongues* too. But, as fast as their *Hands* are bound, they could make a shift to hold their *Pens*, and have their Share in the Guilt of ruining the hopefullest Party and Ministry that ever *prescribed* to a Crown. This captious Gentleman is angry to see a Majority of Prelates cried up by those who are *Enemies to the Character*. Now I always thought, that the Concessions of Enemies were more to a Man's Advantage than the Praise of his Friends. *Time and Mortality*, he says, *can only remedy these Inconveniencies in the Church*. This is, in other Words, when certain Bishops are dead, we shall have others of our own Stamp. Not so fast: You are not yet so sure of your Game. We have already got one *comfortable Loss* in Spain, although by a General of our own: For Joy of which, our *Junto* had a merry Meeting at the House of their great Profelyte, on the very Day we received the happy News. One or two more such *Blows* would, perhaps, set us right again; and then we can employ Mortality as well as others. He concludes with wishing, that *three Letters, spoke when the Prolocutor was presented, were made publick*. I suppose he would be content with *one*; and that is more than we shall grant, to humour him. However, I hope he will allow it possible to have *Grace*, without either *Eloquence* or *Latin*; which is all I shall say to this malicious *Innuendo*.

HAVING thus, I hope, given a *full and satisfactory Answer* to the Examiner's last Paper, I shall now go on to a more important Affair, which is to prove,
by

by several undeniable Instances, that the late Ministry, and their Abettors, were true Friends to the Church. It is yet, I confess, a Secret to the Clergy wherein this Friendship did consist. For Information, therefore, of that Reverend Body, that they may never forget their Benefactors, as well as of all others who may be equally ignorant, I have determined to display our Merits to the World upon that weighty Article. And I could wish, that what I am to say were to be written upon Brass, for an eternal Memorial; the rather because, for the future, the Church must endeavour to stand unsupported by those Patrons who expired in doing it their *last good Office*, and will never *rise* to preserve it any more.

LET us, therefore, produce the pious Endeavours of these Church Defenders, who were its Patrons by their Power and Authority, as well as Ornaments of it by their exemplary Lives.

FIRST, St. Paul tells us, *There must be Heresies in the Church, that the Truth may be manifest*; and therefore, by due Course of Reasoning, the more Heresies there are, the more manifest will the Truth be made. This being maturely considered by these Lovers of the Church, they endeavoured to propagate as many Heresies as they could, that the Light of Truth might shine the clearer.

SECONDLY, To shew their Zeal for the Church's Defence, they took the Care of it intirely out of the Hands of *God Almighty* (because that was a *foreign Jurisdiction*) and made it their own *Creature*, depending altogether upon them; and issued out their Orders to *Tindal*, and others, to give publick Notice of it.

THIRDLY, Because *Charity* is the most celebrated of all Christian Virtues, therefore they extended theirs beyond all Bounds; and, instead of shutting the

the Church against *Dissenters*, were ready to open it to all *Comers*, and *break down its Walls* rather than that any should want Room to enter. The Strength of a State, we know, consisteth in the Number of People, how different soever in their Callings; and why should not the Strength of a Church consist in the same, how different soever in their *Creeds*? For that Reason, they charitably attempted to abolish the Test, which tied up so many Hands from getting Employments, in order to protect the Church.

I KNOW very well that this Attempt is objected to us as a Crime, by several *malignant Tories*; and denied as a Slander by many unthinking People among ourselves. The latter are apt, in their Defence, to ask such Questions as these: "Was your Test repealed? Had we not a Majority? Might we not have done it, if we pleased?" To which the others answer, "You did what you could: You prepared the Way, but you found a fatal Impediment from that Quarter whence the Sanction of the Law must come; and therefore, to save your Credit, you condemned a Paper to be burnt, which yourselves had brought in." But, alas! the Miscarriage of that noble Project for the Safety of the Church had another Original; the Knowledge whereof depends upon a Piece of secret History, which I shall now lay open.

THESE Church Projectors had directed a *Presbyterian Preacher* to draw up a Bill for repealing the Test. It was accordingly done, with great Art; and, in the Preamble, several Expressions of Civility to the *Established Church*; and when it came to the Qualifications of all those who were to enter on any Office, the Compiler hath taken special Care to make them large enough for all *Christians* whatsoever,

ever, by transcribing the very Words (only formed into an *Oath*) which *Quakers* are obliged to profess by a former Act of Parliament; as I shall here set them down: "I, *A. B.* profess Faith in God the Father, and in *Jesus Christ* his eternal Son, the true God; and in the Holy Spirit, one God, blessed for ever more; and do acknowledge the Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testament to be given by divine Inspiration." This Bill was carried to the chief Leaders, for their Approbation, with these terrible Words turned into an Oath. What should they do? Those few among them who fancied they believed in God, were sure they did not believe in *Christ*, or the *Holy Spirit*, or one Syllable of the *Bible*; and they were as sure that every body knew their Opinion in those Matters, which, indeed, they had been always too sincere to disguise; how, therefore, could they take such an Oath as that, without ruining their Reputation with *Tindal*, *Toland*, *Coward*, *Collins*, *Clendon*, and all the Tribe of *Free-thinkers*; and giving a Scandal to weak Unbelievers? Upon this nice Point of Honour and Conscience, the Matter was hushed, the Project for repealing the *Test* let fall, and the *Sacrament* left, as the smaller Evil of the two.

FOURTHLY, These Pillars of the Church, because the Harvest was great and the Labourers few, and because they would ease the Bishops from that grievous Trouble of laying on Hands, were willing to allow that Power to all Men whatsoever, to prevent that terrible Consequence of unchurching those, who thought a Hand from under a Cloak as effectual as from *Lawn Shoves*. And, indeed, what could more contribute to the Advancement of true Religion, than a Bill of General Naturalization for Priesthood?

FIFTHLY,

FIFTHLY, In order to fix Religion in the Minds of Men, because Truth never appears so fair as when confronted with Falshood ; they directed Books to be published, that denied the Being of a God, the Divinity of the *Second and Third Persons*, the Truth of all Revelation, and the Immortality of the Soul. To this we owe that great Sense of Religion, that Respect and Kindness to the Clergy, and that true Love of Virtue, so manifest, of late Years, among the Youth of our Nation. Nor could any thing be more discreet, than to leave the Merits of each Cause to such wise, impartial Judges ; who might otherwise fall under the Slavery of believing by *E-ducation and Prejudice*.

SIXTHLY, Because nothing so much distracts the Thoughts, as too great Variety of Subjects ; therefore they had kindly prepared a Bill, to prescribe the Clergy what Subjects they should preach upon, and in what Manner, that they might be at no Loss; and this, no doubt, was a proper Work for such Hands, so thoroughly versed in the Theory and Practice of all Christian Duties.

SEVENTHLY, To save Trouble and Expence to the Clergy, they contrived that *Convocations* should meet as seldom as possible; and, when they were suffered to assemble, would never allow them to meddle with any Business ; because, they said, the Office of a Clergyman was enough to take up the *whole Man*. For the same Reason they were very desirous to excuse the Bishops from sitting in Parliament, that they might be at leisure to stay at Home and look after the inferior Clergy.

I SHALL mention, at present, but one more Instance of their pious Zeal for the Church. They had somewhere heard the Maxim, *Sanguis Martyrum*

est Semen Ecclesiæ ; therefore, in order to *sow this Seed*, they began with *impeaching a Clergyman* : And that it might be a true Martyrdom in every Circumstance, they proceeded, as much as possible, against Common Law ; which, the *Long-robe Part* of the *Managers* knew, was, in a hundred Instances, directly contrary to all their Positions, and *were sufficiently warned of it before-hand* ; but their Love of the Church prevailed. Neither was this Impeachment an Affair taken up on a sudden ; for a certain great Person (whose Character hath been lately published by some stupid and lying Writer) who very much distinguished himself by his Zeal in forwarding this *Impeachment*, had, several Years ago, endeavoured to persuade the late King to give way to just such another Attempt. He told his Majesty, there was a certain Clergyman preached very dangerous Sermons, and that the only Way to put a stop to such Insolence, was to impeach him in Parliament. The King enquired the Character of the Man : “ O, Sir,” said my Lord, “ the most violent, hot, positive Fellow in *England* ; so extremely wilful, that I believe he would be heartily glad to be a Martyr.” The King answered, “ Is it so ? Then I am resolved “ to disappoint him ;” and would never hear more of the Matter ; by which that hopeful Project unhappily miscarried.

I HAVE hitherto confined myself to those Endeavours for the Good of the Church, which were common to all the Leaders and principal Men of *our* Party ; but if my Paper were not drawing towards an End, I could produce several Instances of particular Persons, who, by their exemplary Lives and Actions, have confirmed the Character so justly due to the whole Body. I shall, at present, mention only

ly two, and illustrate the Merits of each by a Matter of Fact.

THAT worthy Patriot and *true Lover* of the Church, whom a *late Examiner* is supposed to reflect on, under the Name of *Verres*, felt a pious Impulse to be a Benefactor to the Cathedral of *Gloucester*; but how to do it in the most decent generous Manner, was the Question. At last he thought of an Expedient: One Morning, or Night, he stole into the Church, mounted upon the Altar, and there did that which, in cleanly Phrase, is called *disburdening of Nature*. He was discovered, prosecuted, and condemned to pay a thousand *Pounds*; which Sum was all employed to *support the Church*, as, no doubt, the *Benefactor* meant it.

THERE is another Person, whom the same Writer is thought to point at, under the Name of *Will Bigamy*. This Gentleman,, knowing that Marriage Fees were a considerable Perquisite to the Clergy, found out a Way of improving them *Cent. per Cent.* for the *Good of the Church*. His Invention was, to marry a second Wife while the first was alive, convincing her of the Lawfulness by such Arguments as, he did not doubt, would make others follow the same Example. These he had drawn up in Writing, with an Intention to publish, for the *general Good*; and, it is hoped, he may now have Leisure to finish them.

T H E
E X A M I N E R.

N U M B E R XXIII.

Thursday, December 11, 1710.

*Bellum ita suscipiatur, ut nihil aliud nisi Pax quaesita
videatur.*

I Am satisfied, that no reasonable Man, of either Party, can justly be offended at any thing I said in one of my Papers, relating to the Army. From the Maxims I there laid down, perhaps, many Persons may conclude, that I had a mind the World should think there had been Occasion given by some late Abuses among Men of that Calling; and they conclude right: For my Intention is, that my Hints may be understood, and my Quotations and Allegories applied. And I am in some Pain to think, that in the *Orcades* on one Side, and the *Western Coasts of Ireland* on the other, the *Examiner* may want a *Key* in several Parts, which I wish I could furnish them with. As to the *French King*, I am under no concern at all: I hear he hath left off reading my Papers, and,
by

by what he hath found in them, dislikes our Proceedings more than ever; and intends, either to make great Additions to his Armies, or propose new Terms for a Peace. So false is that which is commonly reported of his mighty Satisfaction in our Change of Ministry, And I think it clear, that his late Letter of Thanks to the *Tories* of *Great Britain*, must either have been extorted from him, against his Judgment; or was a Cast of Politicks to set the People against the present Ministry; wherein it hath *wonderfully* succeeded.

BUT, although I have never heard, or never regarded any Objections made against that Paper which mentions the Army; yet I intended this as a Sort of Apology for it. And first I declare (because we live in a mistaken World) that in hinting at some Proceedings, wherein a few Persons are said to be concerned, I did not intend to charge them upon the Body of the Army. I have too much detested that barbarous Injustice among the Writers of a late Party, to be ever guilty of it myself: I mean the accusing Societies for the Crimes of a few. On the other Side, I must take leave to believe, that Armies are no more exempt from Corruptions than other Numbers of Men. The Maxims proposed were occasionally introduced by the Report of certain Facts, which I am bound to believe are true, because I am sure, considering what hath passed, it would be a Crime to think otherwise. All Posts in the Army, all Employments at Court, and many others, are (*or ought to be*) given and resumed at the mere Pleasure of the Prince; yet when I see a great Officer broke, a Change made in the

Court, or the Ministry, and this under the most just and gracious Princess that ever reigned ; I must naturally conclude, it is done upon prudent Considerations, and for some great Demerit in the Sufferers. But then, is not the Punishment sufficient ? Is it generous, or charitable to trample on the unfortunate, and expose their Faults to the World, in the strongest Colours ? And would it not suit better with Magnanimity, as well as common Good Nature, to leave them at Quiet to their own Thoughts and Repentance ? Yes, without Question ; provided it could be so contrived, that their very Names, as well as Actions, might be forgotten for ever : *Such* an Act of Oblivion would be for the Honour of our Nation, and beget a better Opinion of us with Posterity ; and then I might have spared the World and myself the Trouble of *Examining*. But, at present, there is a cruel *Dilemma* in the Case : The Friends and Abettors of the late Ministry are every Day publishing their Praises to the World, and casting Reflections upon the present Persons in Power. This is so bare-faced an Aspersion upon the QUEEN, that I know not how any good Subject can, with Patience, endure it, although he were ever so indifferent with regard to the Opinions in Dispute. Shall they, who have lost all Power and Love of the People, be allowed to scatter their Poisons ; and shall not those who are, at least, of the strongest Side, be suffered to bring an Antidote ? And how can we undeceive the deluded Remainder, but by letting them see that these discarded Statesmen were justly laid aside ; and producing as many Instances to prove it as we can ? Not from any Personal Hatred to them, but in Justification to the
best

best of Queens. The many Scurrilities I have heard and read, against this poor Paper of mine, are in such a Strain, that, considering the present State of Affairs, they look like a Jest. They usually run after the following Manner: "What! Shall this insolent Writer presume to censure the late Ministry, the ablest, the most faithful, and truest Lovers of their Country and its Constitution, that ever served a Prince? Shall he reflect on the best House of Commons that ever sat within those Walls? Hath not the Queen changed both for a Ministry and Parliament of *Jacobites* and *High-fliers*, who are selling us to *France*, and bringing over the *Pretender*?" This is the very Sum and Force of all their Reasonings, and this is their Method of complaining against the *Examiner*. In *them* it is humble and loyal to reflect upon the QUEEN, and the Ministry, and Parliament she hath chosen with the universal Applause of her People: In *us* it is insolent to defend her Majesty and her Choice, or to answer their Objections, by shewing the Reasons why those Changes were necessary.

THE same Style hath been used in the late Case concerning some Gentlemen in the Army. Such a Clamour was raised by a Set of Men, who had the Boldness to tax the Administration with Cruelty and Injustice, that I thought it necessary to interfere a little, by shewing the ill Consequences that might arise from some Proceedings, although without Application to particular Persons. And what do they offer in answer? Nothing but a few poor Common-places against *Calumny* and *Informers*; which might have been full as just and seasonable in a Plot against the sacred Person of the QUEEN.

BUT

BUT, by the Way, why are these idle People so indiscreet, to name those *two Words*, which afford Occasion of laying open to the World such an infamous Scene of *Subornation* and *Perjury*, as well as *Calumny* and *Informing*, as, I believe, is without Example; when a whole *Cabal* attempted an *Action* wherein a *condemned Criminal* ^a refused to join with them, for the Reward of his Life? Not that I disapprove their Sagacity, who could foretel, so long before, by what *Hand* they should one Day fall; and therefore, thought any Means justifiable, by which they might prevent it.

BUT, waving this at present, it must be owned, in Justice to the Army, that those Violences did not proceed so far among them as some have believed; nor ought the Madness of a *few* to be laid at their Doors. For the rest, I am so far from denying the due Praises to those brave Troops who did their Part in procuring so many Victories for the *Allies*; that I could wish every Officer and private Soldier had their full Share of Honour, in Proportion to their Deserts; being thus far of the *Athenians* Mind, who, when it was proposed that the Statue of *Miltiades* should be set up alone, in some public Place of the City, said, they would agree to it, *whenever he conquered alone*, but not before. Neither do I at all blame the Officers of the Army, for preferring, in their Hearts, the late Ministry before the present; or, if Wishing alone could be of any Use, for wishing their Continuance; because, then they might be secure of the War's Continuance too: Whereas, since Affairs have been put into other Hands, they may, perhaps, lie un-

^a Greg.

der some Apprehensions of a Peace; which no Army, especially in a Course of Success, was ever inclined to; and which all wise States have, in such a Juncture, chiefly endeavoured. This is a Point wherein the Civil and Military Politicks have always disagreed. And, for that Reason, I affirmed it necessary, in all free Governments, that the latter should be absolutely in Subjection to the former; otherwise one of these two Inconveniencies must arise, either to be perpetually in War, or turn the *Civil* Institution into a *Military* one.

I AM ready to allow all that has been said of the Valour and Experience of our Troops, who have fully contributed their Part to the great Successes abroad; nor is it their Fault, that those important Victories had no better Consequences at Home, although it may be their *Advantage*. War is their Trade and Business: To improve and cultivate the Advantages of Success, is an Affair of the Cabinet; and the Neglect of this, whether proceeding from Weakness or Corruption, according to the usual Uncertainty of Wars, may be of the most fatal Consequence to a Nation. Pray, let me represent our Condition in such a Light, as, I believe, both Parties will allow, although, perhaps, not the Consequences I shall deduce from it. We have been, for above nine Years, blest with a QUEEN, who, besides all Virtues that can enter into the Composition of a private Person, possesseth every Regal Quality that can contribute to make a People happy: Of great Wisdom, yet ready to receive the Advice of her Counsellors: Of much Discernment in chusing proper Instruments, when she follows her own Judgment; and only capable of being deceived by that Excess of Goodness, which makes her judge of others
by

by herself: Frugal in her Management, in order to contribute to the Publick, which, in proportion, she doth, and that voluntarily, beyond any of her Subjects; but from her own Nature, generous and charitable to all who want or deserve; and, in order to exercise those Virtues, denying herself all Entertainments of Expence, which many others enjoy. Then, if we look abroad, at least in *Flanders*, our Arms have been crowned with perpetual Success in Battles and Sieges; not to mention several fortunate Actions in *Spain*. These Facts being thus stated, which none can deny; it is natural to ask, How we have improved such Advantages, and to what Account they have turned? I shall use no discouraging Terms. When a Patient grows daily worse, by the tampering of Mountebanks, there is nothing left but to call in the best Physicians, before the Case grows desperate. But I would ask, Whether *France*, or any other Kingdom, would have made so little Use of such prodigious Opportunities; the Fruits whereof could never have fallen to the Ground, without the extremest Degree of Folly and Corruption? and where those have lain, let the World judge. Instead of aiming at Peace, while we had the Advantage of War, which hath been the perpetual Maxim of all wise States, it hath been reckoned factious and malignant even to express our Wishes for it: And such a Condition imposed, as was never offered to any Prince, who had an Inch of Ground to dispute. *Quæ enim est conditio pacis, in qua ei, cum quo pacem facias, nihil concedi potest?*

It is not obvious to conceive what could move Men, who sat at home, and were called to consult upon the Good of the Kingdom, to be utterly averse from putting an End to a long, expensive War, which

which the victorious, as well as conquered Side, were heartily weary of. Few, or none of them, were Men of the Sword; they had no share in the Honour; they had made large Fortunes, and were at the Head of all Affairs. But they well knew by what Tenure they held their Power; that the Queen saw through their Designs; that they had entirely lost the Hearts of the Clergy; that the Landed Men were against them; that they were detested by the Body of the People; and that nothing bore them up but their Credit with the Bank, and other Stocks, which would be neither formidable nor necessary when the War was at an End. For these Reasons they resolved to disappoint all Overtures of a Peace, until they and their Party should be so deeply rooted, as to make it impossible to shake them. To this end, they began to precipitate Matters so fast, as, in a little Time, must have ruined the Constitution, if the Crown had not interposed, and rather ventured the accidental Effects of their Malice, than such dreadful Consequences of their Power. And, indeed, if the former Dangers had been greater than some hoped, or feared, I see no Difficulty in the Choice, which was the same with his, who said, *he had rather be devoured by Wolves than by Rats.* I, therefore, still insist, that we cannot wonder at, or find Fault with the Army, for concurring with the Ministry, which was for prolonging the War. The Inclination is natural in them all; pardonable in those who have not yet made their Fortunes, and as lawful in the rest, as Love of Power, or Love of Money, can make it. But as natural, as pardonable, and as lawful as this Inclination is, when it is not under the Check of the Civil Power, or when a corrupt Ministry joins in giving it too great Scope; the

the Consequence can be nothing less than infallible Ruin and Slavery to a State.

AFTER I had finished this Paper, the Printer sent me two small Pamphlets, called *The Management of the War*; written with some Plausibility, much Artifice, and abundance of Misrepresentations, as well as direct Falshoods in Point of Fact. These I have thought worth *examining*, which I shall accordingly do, when I find an Opportunity.



THE

T H E
E X A M I N E R.

N U M B E R XXIV.

Thursday, January 18, 1710.

Parva momenta in spem metumque impellunt animos.

HOPES are natural to most Men, especially to sanguine Complexions; and among the various Changes that happen in the Course of publick Affairs, they are seldom without some Grounds. Even in desperate Cases, where it is impossible they should have any Foundation, they are often affected, to keep a Countenance, and make an Enemy think they have some Resource which they know nothing of. This appears to have been, for several Months past, the Condition of those People, whom I am forced, for want of other Phrases, to call the *Ruined Party*. They have taken up, since their Fall, some real and some pretended Hopes. When the Earl of *Sunderland* was discarded, they hoped her Majesty would proceed no farther in the Change of her Ministry; and had the Insolence to misrepresent her

her Words to foreign States. They *hoped* no body durst advise the Dissolution of the Parliament. When this was done, and farther Alterations made in Court, they *hoped*, and endeavoured to ruin the Credit of the Nation. They likewise *hoped*, that we should have some terrible Loss abroad, which would force us to unravel all, and begin again upon their Bottom. But, of all their *Hopes*, whether real or assumed, there is none more extraordinary than that which they now would seem to place their whole Confidence in: That this great Turn of Affairs was only occasioned by a short Madness of the People; from which they will recover in a little Time, when their Eyes are open, and they grow cool and sober enough to consider the Truth of things, and how much they have been deceived. It is not improbable, that some few of the deepest sighted among these Reasoners, are well enough convinced how vain all such *Hopes* must be: But for the rest, the wisest of them seem to have been very ill Judges of the People's Dispositions; the want of much Knowledge was a principal Occasion to hasten their Ruin; for, surely, had they suspected which Way the popular Current inclined, they never would have run against it, by that *Impeachment*. I therefore conclude, they generally are so blind, as to imagine some Comfort from this fantastical Opinion, that the People of *England* are, at present, distracted, but will shortly come to their Senses again.

FOR the Service, therefore, of our Adversaries and Friends, I shall briefly *examine* this Point, by shewing what are the Causes and Symptoms of a People's Madness; and how it differs from their natural Bent and Inclination.

IT is *Machiavel's* Observation, That the People, when left to their own Judgment, do seldom mistake their true Interests; and, indeed, they naturally love the Constitution they are born under; never desiring to change, but under great Oppressions. However, they are to be deceived by several Means. It hath often happened in *Greece*, and sometimes in *Rome*, that those very Men, who have contributed to shake off a former Tyranny, have, instead of restoring the old Constitution, deluded the People into a worse, and more ignominious Slavery. Besides, all great Changes have the same Effect upon Commonwealths that Thunder hath upon Liquors; making the *Dregs* fly up to the Top; the lowest *Plebeians* rise to the Head of Affairs, and there preserve themselves, by representing the Nobles, and other Friends to the old Government, as Enemies to the Publick. The encouraging of new Mysteries and new Deities, with the Pretences of farther Purity in Religion, hath likewise been a frequent Topick to mislead the People. And, not to mention more, the promoting false Reports of Dangers from abroad, hath often served to prevent them from fencing against real Dangers at Home. By these, and the like Arts, in Conjunction with a great Depravity of Manners, and a weak or corrupt Administration, the Madness of the People hath risen to such a Height, as to break in Pieces the whole Frame of the best instituted Governments. But, however, such great Frenzies being artificially raised, are a perfect Force and Constraint upon human Nature; and, under a wise, steady Prince, will certainly decline of themselves; settling like the Sea after a Storm; and then the true Bent and Genius of the People will appear. Ancient and modern Story are full of Instances to illustrate what I say.

In our own Island we had a great Example of a long Madness in the People, kept up by a thousand Artifices, like intoxicating Medicines, until the Constitution was destroyed; yet the Malignity being spent, and the Humour exhausted that served to foment it, before the Usurpers could fix upon a new Scheme, the People suddenly recovered, and peaceably restored the old Constitution.

FROM what I have offered, it will be easy to decide, whether the late Change in the Disposition of the People were a new Madness, or a Recovery from an old one. Neither do I see how it can be proved, that such a Change had, in any Circumstance, the least Symptoms of Madness, whether my Description of it be right, or no. It is agreed, that the truest Way of judging the Disposition of the People, in the Choice of their Representatives, is by computing the County Elections; and in these it is manifest, that five in six are entirely for the present Measures; although the Court was so far from interposing its Credit, that there was no Change in the Admiralty, not above one or two in the Lieutenancy, nor any other Methods used to influence Elections. The free, unextorted Addresses sent some time before, from every Part of the Kingdom, plainly shewed what Sort of Bent the People had taken, and from what Motives. The Election of Members for this great City, carried, contrary to all Conjecture, against the united Interest of those two great Bodies, the *Bank* and *East India Company*, was another convincing Argument. Besides, the *Whigs* themselves have always confessed, that the Bulk of Landed Men in *England* was generally of *Tories*. So that this Change must be allowed to be according to the natural Genius and Disposition
of

of the People; whether it were just and reasonable in itself, or no.

NOTWITHSTANDING all which, you shall frequently hear the Partisans of the late Men in Power gravely and decisively pronounce, that the present Ministry cannot possibly stand. Now they who affirm this, if they believe themselves, must ground their Opinion upon the Iniquity of the *last* being so far established, and deeply rooted, that no Endeavours of honest Men will be able to restore Things to their former State. Or else these Reasoners have been so misled, by twenty Years Mismanagement, that they have forgot our Constitution, and talk as if our Monarchy and Revolution began together. But the Body of the People is wiser; and, by the Choice they have made, shew they do understand our Constitution, and would bring it back to the old Form; which, if the new Ministers take Care to maintain, they will, and ought to stand; otherwise they may fall like their Predecessors. But, I think, we may easily foresee what a Parliament, freely chosen, without Threatning or Corruption, is likely to do, when no Man shall be in any Danger to lose his *Place* by the Freedom of his *Voice*.

BUT, who are those Advancers of this Opinion, that the present Ministry cannot hold? It must be either such as are afraid to be called to an Account, in case it should hold, or those who keep Offices, from which others, better qualified, were removed; and may reasonably apprehend to be turned out, for worthier Men to come into their Places; since, perhaps, it will be necessary to make some Changes, that the publick Business of the Nation may go on: Or, lastly, *Stock-jobbers*, who industriously spread such

Reports, that Actions may fall, and their Friends buy to Advantage.

YET these Hopes, thus freely expressed, as they are more sincere, so they are more supportable, than when they appear under the Disguise and Pretence of Fears. Some of these Gentlemen are employed to shake their Heads in proper Companies; to doubt where all this will end; to be in mighty Pain for the Nation; to shew how impossible it is, that the Public Credit can be supported; to pray that all may do well, in whatever Hands; but very much to doubt, that the *Pretender* is at the Bottom. I know not any thing so nearly resembling this Behaviour, as what I have often seen among the Friends of a sick Man, whose Interest it is that he should die. The Physicians protest they see no Danger, the Symptoms are good, the Medicines answer Expectation; yet still they are not to be comforted; they whisper, he is a gone Man, it is not possible he should hold out; he hath perfect Death in his Face; they never liked his Doctor. At last, the Patient recovers, and their Joy is as false as their Grief.

I BELIEVE there is no Man so sanguine, who did not apprehend some ill Consequences from the late Change; although not in any Proportion to the good ones: But it is manifest, the former have proved much fewer and lighter than were expected, either at home or abroad, by the Fears of our Friends or the Hopes of our Enemies. Those Remedies that stir the Humours in a diseased Body, are, at first, more painful than the Malady itself; yet certain Death is the Consequence of deferring them too long. Actions have fallen, and the Loans are said to come in slowly. But besides that, something of this must have been, whether there had been any
Change,

Change, or no: Besides that the Surprize of every Change, for the better as well as the worse, is apt to affect Credit for a while; there is a farther Reason, which is plain, and scandalous: When the late Party was at the Helm, those, who were called the *Tories*, never put their Resentments in balance with the Safety of the Nation; but chearfully contributed to the common Cause. Now the Scene is changed, the fallen Party seems to act from very different Motives: They have *given the Word about*; they will keep their Money, and be passive; and, in this Point, stand upon the same Foot with *Papists* and *Nonjurors*. What would have become of the Publick, if the present great Majority had acted thus, during the late Administration; had acted thus, before the others were Masters of that Wealth they have squeezed out of the Landed Men, and with the Strength of that, would now hold the Kingdom at Defiance?

Thus much I have thought fit to say, without pointing Reflections upon any particular Person; which I have hitherto but sparingly done, and that only towards those whose Characters are too profligate, that the managing of them should be of any Consequence. Besides, as it is a Talent I am not naturally fond of; so, in the Subjects I treat, it is generally needless. If I display the Effects of Avarice and Ambition, of Bribery and Corruption, of gross Immorality and Irreligion; those who are the least conversant in things, will easily know where to apply them. Not that I lay any Weight upon the Objections of such who charge me with this Proceeding: It is notorious enough, that the Writers of the other Side were the first Aggressors. Not to mention their scurrilous Libels, many Years ago, directly levelled at particular Persons; how many Papers do now

come out every Week, full of rude Invectives against the present Ministry, with the first and last Letters of their Names to prevent Mistakes? It is good, sometimes, to let these People see, that we neither want Spirit nor Materials to retaliate; and therefore, in this Point *alone*, I shall follow their Example, whenever I find myself sufficiently provoked; only with one Addition, that whatever Charges I bring, either general or particular, shall be religiously true, founded either upon avowed Facts, which none can deny, or such as I can prove from my own Knowledge.

BEING resolved publickly to confess any Mistakes I have been guilty of, I do hereby humbly desire the Reader's Pardon, for one of mighty Importance, about a Fact, in one of my Papers, said to be done in the Cathedral of *Gloucester*. A whole *Hydra* of Error, in two Words! For, as I am since informed, it was neither in the Cathedral, nor City, nor County of *Gloucester*, but some other Church of that Diocese. If I had ever met any other Objection, of equal Weight, although from the meanest Hands, I should certainly have answered it.

THE

T H E
E X A M I N E R.

N U M B E R XXV.

Thursday, January 25, 1710.

Διαλεξάμενοι τινα ἡσυχῇ, τὸ μὲν σὺμπαν ἐπὶ τε τῇ δυνα-
τείᾳ, καὶ κατὰ τῶν ἐχθρῶν συνάμοσαν.

*Summissa quædam voce collocuti sunt, quorum summa
erat de dominatione sibi confirmanda, ac inimicis de-
lendis, conjuratio.*

NOT many Days ago I observed a Knot of dis-
contented Gentlemen cursing the *Tories* to
Hell, for their Uncharitableness, in affirming, that,
if the late Ministry had continued to this Time, we
should have had neither *Church* nor *Monarchy* left.
They are usually so candid, as to call that the *Opi-*
nion of a Party, which they hear in a Coffee-house,
or over a Bottle, from some warm young People,
whom it is odds but they have provoked to say more
that they believed, by some Positions as absurd and
ridiculous of their own. And so it proved in this
very Instance: For, asking one of these Gentlemen,

What it was that provoked those he had been disputing with, to advance such a Paradox? He assured me, in a very calm Manner, it was nothing in the World, but that himself, and some others of the Company, had made it appear, that the Design of the present Parliament, and Ministry, was to bring in *Popery*, *Arbitrary Power*, and the *Pretender*: Which I take to be an Opinion fifty Times more improbable, as well as more uncharitable, than what is charged upon the *Whigs*: Because, I defy our Adversaries to produce one single Reason for suspecting such Designs in the Persons now at the Helm; whereas I can, upon Demand, produce twenty to shew that some late Men had strong Views towards a *Commonwealth*, and the Alteration of the *Church*.

It is natural, indeed, when a Storm is over, that hath only untiled our Houses and blown down some of our Chimneys, to consider what farther Mischiefs might have ensued, if it had lasted longer. However, in the present Case, I am not of the Opinion abovementioned. I believe the Church and State might have lasted *somewhat longer*, although the late Enemies to both had done their worst. I can hardly conceive how Things would have been so soon ripe for a new Revolution. I am convinced, that if they had offered to make such large and sudden Strides, it must have come to Blows; and, according to the Computation we have now Reason to think a right one, I can partly guess what would have been the Issue. Besides, we are sure, the QUEEN would have interposed, before they came to Extremities; and, as little as they regarded the Regal Authority, would have been a Check in their Career.

BUT, instead of this Question, What would have been the Consequence, if the late Ministry had continued?

tinued? I will propose another, which will be more useful for us to consider; and that is, *What we may reasonably expect they will do, if ever they come into Power again?* This, we know, is the Design and Endeavour of all those Scribbles which daily fly about in their Favour; of all the false, insolent, and scandalous Libels against the present Administration; and of all those Engines, set at work to sink the *Actions*, and blow up the publick Credit. As for those, who shew their Inclinations by writing, there is one Consideration, which, I wonder, doth not sometimes affect them: For, how can they forbear having a good Opining of the Gentleness and Innocence of those, who permit them to employ their Pens as they do? It puts me in mind of an insolent, pragmatistical Orator, somewhere in *Greece*, who, railing with great Freedom at the chief Men in the State, was answered by one, who had been very instrumental in recovering the Liberty of the City, That *he thanked the Gods, they had now arrived to the Condition he always wished them in, when every Man in that City might securely say what he pleased.* I wish these Gentlemen would, however, compare the Liberty they take, with what their Masters used to give: How many Messengers and Warrants would have gone out against any who durst have opened their Lips, or drawn their Pens, against the Persons and Proceedings of their *Junto's* and *Cabals*? How would their weekly Writers have been calling out for *Prosecution* and *Punishment*? We remember, when a poor Nick-name, borrowed from an old Play of *Ben Johnson*, and mentioned in a Sermon, without any particular Approbation, was made use of as a Motive to spur on an Impeachment. But, after all, it must be confessed, they had Reasons to be thus severe, which
their

their Successors have not : Their Faults would never endure the Light ; and to have exposed them sooner would have raised the Kingdom against the Actors, before the proper Time.

BUT, to come to the Subject I have now undertaken, which is, to examine what the Consequences would be, upon Supposition that the *Whigs* were now restored to their Power. I already imagine the present free Parliament dissolved, and another, of a different Epithet, met, by the Force of Money and Management. I read, immediately, a Dozen or two stinging Votes against the Proceedings of the late Ministry. The Bill ^a now to be repealed would then be re-enacted, and the Birth-right of an *Englishman* reduced, again, to the Value of Twelve-Pence. But, to give the Reader a stronger Imagination of such a Scene, let me represent the Designs of some Men lately endeavoured and projected, in the Form of a Paper of Votes.

“ *Ordered,*

“ That a Bill be brought in, for repealing the
“ *Sacramental Test.*

“ A Petition of *Tindal, Collins, Clendon, Cow-*
“ *ard, and Toland,* in behalf of themselves and ma-
“ ny Hundreds of their Disciples, some of whom are
“ Members of this honourable House ; desiring that
“ Leave may be given to bring in a Bill for quali-
“ fying *Atheists, Deists, and Socinians* to serve their
“ Country in any Employment, Ecclesiastical, Civil,
“ or Military.

^a Bill for a general Naturalization.

“ *Ordered,*

“ *Ordered,*

“ That Leave be given to bring in a Bill, according to the Prayer of the said Petition; and that Mr. *Lechmere* do prepare and bring in the same.

“ *Ordered,*

“ That a Bill be brought in for removing the Education of Youth out of the Hands of the Clergy.

“ Another to forbid the Clergy preaching certain Duties in Religion; especially *Obedience to Princes.*

“ Another to take away the Jurisdiction of Bishops.

“ Another for constituting a General *for Life*; with Instructions to the Committee, that Care may be taken to make the War last as long as the Life of the said General.

“ A Bill of Attainder against *James Duke of Ormond, John Duke of Buckingham, Laurence Earl of Rochester, Sir Simon Harcourt Knight, Robert Harley, and William Shippen Esquires, Abigail M. Joan,* and others, for High-Treason against the *Junto.*

“ *Resolved,*

“ That *Sarah Duchess of Marlborough* hath been a most dutiful, just, and grateful Servant to her Majesty.

“ *Resolved,*

“ That to advise the Dissolution of a *Whig* Parliament, or the Removal of a *Whig* Ministry, was in order to bring in *Papery* and the *Pretender*; and that the said Advice was High-Treason.

“ *Resolved,*

“ That by the *Original Compact*, the Government of this Realm is by a *Junto*, and a *King*, or *Queen*; but the *Administration* solely in the *Junto.*

“ *Ordered,*

“ *Ordered,*

“ That a Bill be brought in for farther limiting
“ the Prerogative.

“ *Ordered,*

“ That it be a standing Order of this House, That
“ the Merit of Elections be not determined by the
“ Number of Voices, or Right of Electors, but by
“ Weight; and that one *Whig* shall weigh down ten
“ *Tories*.

“ A Motion being made, and the Question being
“ put, That when a *Whig* is detected of manifest
“ Bribery, and his Competitor, being a *Tory*, hath
“ Ten to One a Majority, there shall be a new Elec-
“ tion; it passed in the Negative.

“ *Resolved,*

“ That for a King, or Queen, of this Realm, to
“ read, or examine, a Paper brought them to be
“ signed by a *Junto* Minister, is arbitrary and illegal,
“ and a Violation of the Liberties of the People.”

THESE, and the like Reforms, would, in all Probability, be the first Fruits of the *Whigs Resurrection*; and what Structures such able Artists might, in a short Time, build upon such Foundations, I leave others to conjecture. All Hopes of a *Peace* cut off; the Nation industriously involved in farther Debts, to a Degree that none would dare undertake the Management of Affairs, but those whose Interest lay in ruining the Constitution. I do not see how the wisest Prince, under such Necessities, could be able to extricate himself. Then, as to the *Church*; the Bishops would, by Degrees, be dismissed, first from the Parliament, next from their Revenues, and at last from their Office; and the Clergy, instead of their idle Claim of *Independency* on
the

the State, would be forced to depend, for their daily Bread, on every Individual. But what System of future Government was designed; whether it were already digested, or would have been left for Time and Incidents to mature, I shall not now *examine*. Only, upon this Occasion, I cannot help reflecting on a Fact, which, it is probable, the Reader knows as well as myself. There was a Picture drawn, some Time ago, representing five Persons, as large as the Life, sitting in Council together, like a *Pentarchy*; a void Space was left for a sixth, which was to have been the QUEEN, to whom they intended that Honour: But her Majesty having since fallen under their Displeasure, they have made a shift to crowd in *two better Friends* in her Place, which makes it a compleat *Heptarchy*. This Piece is now in the Country, reserved until better Times; and hangs in a Hall, among the Pictures of *Cromwell*, *Bradshaw*, *Ireton*, and some other Predecessors.

I MUST now desire Leave to say something to a Gentleman, who hath been pleased to publish a Discourse against a Paper of mine, relating to the Convocation. He promiseth to *set me right, without any undue Reflections, or indecent Language*. I suppose he means, in Comparison with others, who pretend to answer the *Examiner*. So far he is right; but if he thinks he hath behaved himself as becomes a candid Antagonist, I believe he is mistaken. He says, in his Title Page, my *Representations are unfair, and my Reflections unjust*. And his Conclusion is yet more severe, where he doubts *I and my Friends are enraged against the Dutch, because they preserved us from Popery and Arbitrary Power at the Revolution; and, since that Time, from being over-run by the exorbitant Power of France, and becoming a Prey to the Pretender*

Pretender. Because this Author seems, in general, to write with an honest Meaning, I would seriously put to him the Question, Whether he thinks, *I and my Friends* are for *Popery, Arbitrary Power, France and the Pretender*? I omit other Instances of smaller moment, which, however, do not suit, in my Opinion, with *due Reflection, or decent Language*. The Fact, relating to the *Convocation*, came from a good Hand; and I do not find this Author differs from me in any material Circumstance, about it. My Reflections were no more than what might be obvious to any other Gentleman, who had heard of their late Proceedings. If the Notion be right, which this Author gives us of a Lower House of *Convocation*; it is a very melancholy one, and, to me, seems utterly inconsistent with that of a Body of Men, whom he owns to have a *Negative*; and, therefore, since a great Majority of the Clergy differ from him in several Points he advances, I shall rather chuse to be of their Opinion than his. I fancy, when the *whole Synod met in one House*, as this Writer affirms, they were upon a better Foot with their Bishops; and, therefore, whether this Treatment, so extremely *de Haut en Bas*, since their Exclusion, be suitable to primitive Custom, or primitive Humility, towards Brethren, is not my Business to enquire. One may allow the divine, or apostolick, Right of Episcopacy, and their great Superiority over Presbyters; and yet dispute the Methods of exercising the latter, which, being of human Institution, are subject to Encroachment and Usurpations. I know every Clergyman in a Diocese hath a great deal of Dependence upon his Bishop, and owes him canonical Obedience: But I was apt to think, that when the whole Representative of the Clergy met in a Synod, they were con-

sidered in another Light ; at least since they are allowed to have a *Negative*. If I am mistaken, I desire to be excused, as talking out of my Trade : Only there is one thing wherein I entirely differ from this Author ; since, in the Disputes about Privileges, *one Side must recede* : Where so very few Privileges remain, it is a hundred to one odds, that the Encroachments are not on the inferior Clergy's Side ; and no Man can blame them for insisting on the small Number that is left. There is one Fact, wherein I must take Occasion to set this Author right ; that the Person ^a who first moved the QUEEN to remit the First-fruits and Tenths to the Clergy, was an *eminent Instrument in the late Turn of Affairs* ; and, as I am told, hath lately prevailed to have the same Favour granted for the Clergy of *Ireland* ^b.

But I must beg Leave to inform this Author, that my Paper is not intended for the Management of Controversy ; which would be of very little Import to most Readers ; and only mispend Time, that I would gladly employ to better Purposes. For where it is a Man's Business to entertain a whole Room-full, it is unmannerly to apply himself to a particular Person, and turn his Back upon the rest of the Company.

^a Earl of Oxford, Lord Treasurer.

^b This was done by the Author's Solicitation.

THE
EXAMINER.

NUMBER XXVI.

Thursday, February 1, 1710.

*Ea autem est gloria, laus recte factorum, magnorum-
que in Rempublicam meritorum: Quæ cum optimi
cujusque, tum etiam multitudinis testimonio, com-
probatur.*

I Am thinking, what a mighty Advantage it is,
to be entertained as a Writer to a ruined Cause.
I remember a *Fanatick Preacher*, who was inclined
to come into the Church, and take Orders; but upon
mature Thoughts, was diverted from that Design,
when he considered that the Collections of the *Godly*
were a much heartier and readier Penny, than he
could get by wrangling for Tythes. He certainly
had Reason; and the two Cases are parallel. If
you write in Defence of a fallen Party, you are
maintained by Contribution, as a necessary Person;
you have little more to do than to carp and cavil at
those who hold the Pen on the other Side; you are
sure

sure to be celebrated and careſſed by all your Party, to a Man. You may affirm and deny what you pleaſe, without Truth or Probability, ſince it is but Loſs of time to contradict you. *Commiſeration* is often on your Side ; and you have a Pretence to be thought honeſt and diſintereſted, for adhering to Friends in Diſtreſs. After which, if your Friends ever happen to turn up again, you have a ſtrong Fund of *Merit*, towards making your Fortune. Then, you never fail to be well furniſhed with Materials ; every one bringeth in his *Quota* ; Falſhood being, naturally, more plentiful than Truth : Not to mention the wonderful Delight of libelling Men in Power, and hugging yourſelf in a Corner with mighty Satisfaction with what you have done.

It is quite otherwiſe with us, who engage as Volunteers in the Service of a flouriſhing Miniſtry, in full Credit with the QUEEN, and beloved by the People ; becauſe they have no ſiniſter Ends or dangerous Deſigns ; but purſue, with Steadineſs and Reſolution, the true Intereſt of both. Upon which Account they little want, or deſire our Aſſiſtance ; and we may write until the World is weary of reading, without having our Pretences allowed, either to a *Place*, or a *Penſion* : Beſides, we are reſuſed the common *Benefit of the Party*, to have our Works cried up, of courſe ; the Readers of our own Side being as ungentle, and hard to pleaſe, as if we writ againſt them ; and our Papers never make their Way in the World, but barely in proportion to their Merit. The Deſign of their Labours, who write on the conquered Side, is likewiſe of greater Importance than *ours* : They are like Cordials for dying Men, which muſt be repeated ; whereas ours are, in the Scripture Phraſe, but *Meat for Babes* :

At least, all I can pretend, is to undeceive the Ignorant, and those at a Distance; but their Task is to keep up the sinking Spirits of a whole Party.

AFTER such Reflections, I cannot be angry with those Gentlemen for perpetually writing against me: It furnishes them largely with Topicks; and is, besides, their proper Business. Neither is it Affectation, or altogether *Scorn*, that I do not reply. But, as Things are, we both act suitable to our several Provinces: Mine is, by laying open some Corruptions in the late Management, to set those, who are ignorant, right in their Opinions of Persons and Things. It is theirs, to cover with *Fig-leaves* all the Faults of their Friends, as well as they can. When I have produced my Facts, and offered my Arguments, I have nothing farther to advance; it is their Office to deny, and disprove; and then let the World decide. If I were as *they*, my chief Endeavour should, certainly, be to batter down the *Examiner*; therefore, I cannot but approve their Design. Besides, they have, indeed, another Reason for barking incessantly at this Paper: They have, in their Prints, openly taxed a most ingenious Person, as Author of it; one who is in great, and very deserved, Reputation with the World, both on account of his Poetical Works, and his Talents for publick Business. They were wise enough to consider, what a Sanction it would give their Performances, to fall under the Animadversion of such a Pen; and have, therefore, used all the Forms of Provocation, commonly practised by little obscure Pedants, who are fond of distinguishing themselves by the Fame of an Adversary. So nice a Taste have these judicious Criticks, in pretending to discover an Author by his Style. and Manner of thinking: Not

to mention the Justice and Candour of exhausting all the stale Topicks of Scurrility, in reviling a Paper, and then flinging, at a Venture, the whole Load upon one who is entirely innocent; and whose greatest Fault, perhaps, is too much *Gentleness* towards a Party, from whose *Leaders* he hath received quite contrary Treatment.

THE Concern I have for the Ease and Reputation of so deserving a Gentleman, hath, at length, forced me, much against my Interest and Inclination, to let these angry People know who is *not* the Author of the *Examiner*. For, I observed, the Opinion began to spread; and I chose rather to sacrifice the Honour I received by it, than let injudicious People entitle him to a Performance, that, perhaps, he might have Reason to be ashamed of: Still faithfully promising, never to disturb those worthy Advocates; but suffer them, in quiet, to roar on at the *Examiner*, if they, or their Party, find any Ease in it; as the Physicians say there is to People in Torment, such as Men in the Gout, or Women in Labour.

HOWEVER, I must acknowledge myself indebted to them for one Hint, which I shall now pursue, although in a different Manner. Since the Fall of the late Ministry, I have seen many Papers filled with their Encomiums; I conceive, in Imitation of those who write the Lives of famous Men, where, after their Deaths, immediately follow their Characters. When I saw the poor *Virtues* thus dealt at Random I thought the Disposers had flung their Names, like *Valentines*, into a *Hat*, to be drawn, as Fortune pleased, by the *Junto* and their Friends. There *Craffus* drew *Liberality* and *Gratitude*; *Fulvia*, *Humility* and *Gentleness*; *Clodius*, *Piety* and

Justice; Gracchus, Loyalty to his Prince; Cinna, Love to his Country and Constitution; and so of the rest. Or, to quit this Allegory, I have often seen, of late, the whose Set of discarded Statesmen celebrated by their judicious Hirelings, for those very Qualities which their Admirers owned they chiefly wanted. Did these Heroes put off and lock up their Virtues, when they came into Employment, and have they now resumed them, since their Dismissions? If they wore them, I am sure it was under their Greatness, and without ever once convincing the World of their Visibility or Influence.

BUT, why should not the present Ministry find a Pen to praise them, as well as the last? This is what I shall now undertake; and it may be more impartial in me, from whom they have deserved so little. I have, *without being called*, served them half a Year, in Quality of *Champion*: and, by Help of the QUEEN, and a Majority of nine in ten of the Kingdom, have been able to protect them against a routed Cabal of hated Politicians, with a dozen of Scriblers at their Head: Yet, so far have they been from rewarding me suitable to my Deserts, that, to this Day, they never so much as sent to the *Printer*, to enquire who I was; although I have known a Time and Ministry, where a Person of half my Merit and Consideration would have had fifty *Promises*; and, in the mean time, a *Pension* settled on him, whereof the *first Quarter should be honestly paid*. Therefore, my *Resentments* shall so far prevail, that in praising those who are now at the Head of Affairs, I shall, at the same time, take Notice of their Defects.

WAS any Man more eminent in his Profession than the present *Lord Keeper*, or more distinguished
by

by his Eloquence and great Abilities in the House of Commons? and will not his Enemies allow him to be fully equal to the great Station he now adorns? But then it must be granted, that he is wholly ignorant in the speculative, as well as the practical Part of *Polygamy*; he knows not how to metamorphose a sober Man into a *Lunatick*, he is no *Free-thinker* in Religion, nor has Courage to be *Patron* of an atheistical Book, while he is Guardian of the QUEEN'S Conscience. Although, after all, to speak my private Opinion, I cannot think these such mighty Objections to his Character as some would pretend.

THE Person^a who now presides at the Council, is descended from a great and honourable Father, not from the *Dregs of the People*; he was at the Head of the Treasury for some Years, and rather chose to enrich his Prince than himself. In the Height of Favour and Credit, he sacrificed the greatest Employment in the Kingdom to his *Conscience and Honour*; he hath been always firm in his Loyalty and Religion, zealous for supporting the Prerogative of the Crown, and preserving the Liberties of the People. But then his best Friends must own, that he is neither *Deist* nor *Socinian*; he hath never conversed with *Toland*, to open and enlarge his Thoughts, and dispel the Prejudices of Education; nor was he ever able to arrive at that Perfection of Gallantry, *to ruin and imprison the Husband, in order to keep the Wife without Disturbance.*

THE present Lord Steward hath been always distinguished for his Wit and Knowledge; is of consummate Wisdom and Experience in Affairs; hath continued constant to the true Interest of the Nation,

^a *Laurence Hyde, late Earl of Rochester.*

which he espoused from the Beginning, and is every Way qualified to support the Dignity of his Office: But, in point of *Oratory*, must give Place to his Predecessor.

THE Duke of *Shrewsbury* was highly instrumental in bringing about the *Revolution*, in which Service he freely exposed his Life and Fortune. He hath ever been the Favourite of the Nation, being possessed of many amiable Qualities; but in the Agreeableness and Fragrancy of his Person, and the Profoundness of his Politicks, must be allowed to fall very short of —.

MR. *Harley* had the Honour of being chosen Speaker, successively, to three Parliaments. He was the first, of late Years, who ventured to restore the forgotten Custom of treating his PRINCE with *Duty* and *Respect*; easy and disengaged in private Conversation, with such a Weight of Affairs upon his Shoulders; of great Learning, and as great a Favourer and Protector of it; intrepid by Nature, as well as by the Consciousness of his own Integrity; a Despiser of Money; pursuing the true Interest of his PRINCE and Country, against all Obstacles; sagacious to view into the remotest Consequences of Things, by which all Difficulties fly before him; a firm friend, and a placable Enemy; sacrificing his justest Resentments, not only to publick Good, but to common Intercession and Acknowledgment. Yet, with all these Virtues, it must be granted, there is some Mixture of human Infirmary. His greatest Admirers must confess his Skill at *Cards* and *Dice* to be very low and superficial; in *Horse-Racing* he is utterly ignorant; then, to save a few Millions to the Publick, he never regards how many worthy *Citizens* he hinders from making up their Plumb. And, surely

surely, there is one Thing never to be forgiven him ; that he delights to have his Table filled with *black Coats*, whom he useth as if they were *Gentlemen*.

My Lord D—— is a Man of Letters, full of Good Sense, Good Nature, and Honour ; of strict Virtue and Regularity in his Life ; but labours under one great Defect, that he treats his Clerks with more Civility and Good Manners than others, in his Station, have done the QUEEN.

OMITTING some others, I shall close this Character of the present *Ministry* with that of Mr. *St. John*, who, from his Youth, applying those admirable Talents of Nature, and Improvements of Art, to publick Business, grew eminent in Court and Parliament at an Age when the Generality of Mankind is employed in Trifles and Folly. It is to be lamented, that he hath not yet procured himself a *busy, important Countenance* ; nor learned that profound Part of Wisdom, to be *difficult of Access*. Besides, he hath clearly mistaken the true Use of *Books*, which he hath thumbed, and spoiled with Reading, when he ought to have multiplied them on his Shelves : Not like a great Man of my Acquaintance, who knew a Book by the Back better than a Friend by the Face ; although he had never conversed with the former, and often with the latter.

THE
EXAMINER.

NUMBER XXVII.

Thursday, February 8, 1710.

Caput est in omni procuratione negotii & muneris publici, ut avaritiæ pellatur etiam minima suspicio.

THERE is no Vice which Mankind carries to such wild Extremes as that of *Avarice*. Those two which seem to rival it, in this Point, are Lust and Ambition : But the former is checked by Difficulties and Diseases, destroys itself by its own Pursuits, and usually declines with old Age ; and the latter, requiring Courage, Conduct, and Fortune in a high Degree, and meeting with a thousand Dangers and Oppositions, succeeds too seldom in an Age to fall under common Observation. Or, is Avarice, perhaps, the same Passion with Ambition ; only placed in more ignoble and dastardly Minds, by which the Object is changed from *Power* to *Money* ? Or, it may be that one Man pursues Power in order to Wealth ; and another Wealth in order to Power ;

which last is the safer Way, although longer about ; and, suiting with every Period, as well as Condition of Life, is more generally followed.

HOWEVER it be, the Extremes of this Passion are certainly more frequent than of any other ; and often to a Degree so absurd and ridiculous, that if it were not for their Frequency, they could hardly obtain Belief. The *Stage*, which carries other Follies and Vices beyond Nature and Probability, falls very short in the Representations of *Avarice* ; nor are there any Extravagancies in this Kind described by ancient, or modern Comedies, which are not outdone by an hundred Instances, commonly told among ourselves.

I AM ready to conclude from hence, that a Vice, which keeps so firm a Hold upon human Nature, and governs it with so unlimited a Tyranny, since it cannot wholly be eradicated, ought, at least, to be confined to particular Objects ; to Thrift and Penury, to private Fraud and Extortion, and never suffered to prey upon the Publick ; and should certainly be rejected as the most unqualifying Circumstance for any Employment, where Bribery and Corruption can possibly enter.

If the Mischiefs of this Vice, in a publick Station, were confined to enriching only those particular Persons employed, the Evil would be more supportable : But, it is, usually, quite otherwise. When a *Steward* defrauds his *Lord*, he must connive at the rest of the *Servants*, while they are following the same Practice in their several Spheres : so that in some Families you may observe a Subordination of Knaves in a Link downward, to the very *Helper* in the Stables, all cheating by Concert, and with Impunity. And, even if this were all, perhaps the Master could bear
it,

it, without being undone ; but it so happens, that for every Shilling the Servant gets by his Iniquity, the Master loseth twenty ; the Perquisites of Servants being but small Compositions for suffering Shopkeepers to bring in what Bills they please. It is exactly the same Thing in a State : An avaricious Man in Office is in Confederacy with the whole *Clan* of his District, or Dependance, which, in modern Terms of Art, is called *to live, and let live* ; and yet *their* Gains are the smallest Part of the Publick's Loss. Give a Guinea to a knavish *Land-waiter*, and he shall connive at the Merchant, for cheating the QUEEN of an hundred. A *Brewer* gives a Bribe to have the Privilege of selling Drink to the *Navy* ; but the Fraud is an hundred Times greater than the Bribe, and the Publick is at the whole Loss.

MORALISTS make two kinds of Avarice : that of *Catiline*, *alieni appetens*, *sui profusus* ; and the other more generally understood by that Name, which is, the endless Desire of hoarding. But I take the former to be more dangerous in a State, because it mingles with Ambition, which, I think, the latter cannot ; for although the same Breast may be capable of admitting both, it is not able to cultivate them ; and where the Love of heaping Wealth prevails, there is not, in my Opinion, much to be apprehended from Ambition. The Disgrace of that fordid Vice is sooner apt to spread than any other ; and is always attended with the Hatred and Scorn of the People : So that, whenever those two Passions happen to meet in the same Subject, it is not unlikely that Providence hath placed *Avarice* to be a Check upon *Ambition* ; and, I have Reason to think, *some great Ministers of State* have been of my Opinion.

THE

THE divine Authority of Holy Writ, the Precepts of Philosophers, the Lashes and Ridicule of satirical Poets, have been all employed in exploding this insatiable Thirst of Money ; and all equally controuled by the daily Practice of Mankind. Nothing new remains to be said upon the Occasion ; and if there did, I must remember my Character, that I am an *Examiner* only, and not a *Reformer*.

HOWEVER, in those Cases where the Frailties of particular Men do nearly affect the publick Welfare, such as a Prime Minister of State, or a great General of an Army ; methinks there should be some Expedient contrived, to let them know, impartially, what is the World's Opinion in the Point. Encompassed with a Crowd of depending Flatterers, they are many Degrees blinder to their own Faults than the common Infirmities of human Nature can plead in their Excuse. Advice dares not to be offered, or is wholly lost, or returned with Hatred : And whatever appears in publick against their prevailing Vice, goes for nothing ; being either not applied, or passing only for Libel and Slander, proceeding from the Malice and Envy of a Party.

I HAVE sometimes thought that if I had lived at *Rome*, in the Time of the first *Triumvirate*, I should have been tempted to write a Letter, as from an unknown Hand, to those three great Men, who had then usurped the sovereign Power ; wherein I would freely and sincerely tell each of them that Fault which I conceived was most odious, and of worst Consequence to the Commonwealth. That to *Crassus* should have been sent to him after his Conquests in *Mesopotamia*, and in the following Terms :

“ To

“ To *Marcus Crassus*, Health.

“ I F you apply, as you ought, what I now
“ write, you will be more obliged to me than to all
“ the World, hardly excepting your Parents, or
“ your Country. I intend to tell you, without Dis-
“ guise or Prejudice, the Opinion which the World
“ hath entertained of you ; and to let you see I
“ write this without any Sort of Ill-will, you shall
“ first hear the Sentiments they have to your Ad-
“ vantage. No Man disputes the Gracefulness of
“ your Person : you are allowed to have a good and
“ clear Understanding, cultivated by the Knowledge
“ of Men and Manners, although not by *Literature* ;
“ you are no ill Orator in the Senate ; you are said
“ to excel in the Art of bridling and subduing your
“ Anger, and stifling or concealing your Resent-
“ ments ; you have been a most successful General,
“ of long Experience, great Conduct, and much
“ personal Courage ; you have gained many impor-
“ tant Victories for the Commonwealth, and forced
“ the strongest Towns in *Mesopotamia* to surrender,
“ for which frequent *Supplications* have been decreed
“ by the Senate. Yet, with all these Qualities, and
“ this Merit, give me leave to say, you are neither
“ beloved by the *Patricians* nor *Plebeians* at Home,
“ nor by the Officers or private Soldiers of your
“ own Army abroad. And do you know, *Crassus*,
“ that this is owing to a Fault, of which you may
“ cure yourself by one Minute’s Reflection ? What
“ shall I say ? You are the richest Person in the
“ Commonwealth : you have no Male Child ; your
“ Daughters are all married to wealthy *Patricians* ;
“ you are far in the Decline of Life, and yet you
“ are deeply stained with that odious and ignoble
“ Vic-

“ Vice of *Covetousness*. It is affirmed, that you descend even to the meanest and most scandalous Degrees of it; and, while you possess so many Millions, while you are daily acquiring so many more, you are solicitous how to save a single *Sesterce*; of which an hundred ignominious Instances are produced, and in all Mens Mouths. I will only mention that Passage of the *Buskins*^a, which, after abundance of Persuasion, you would hardly suffer to be cut from your Legs, when they were so wet and cold, that to have kept them on would have endangered your Life.

“ INSTEAD of using the common Arguments to dissuade you from this Weakness, I will endeavour to convince you, that you are really guilty of it; and leave the Cure to your own good Sense. For, perhaps, you are not yet persuaded this is your Crime; you have, probably, never yet been reproached for it to your Face; and what you are now told comes from one unknown, and, it may be, from an Enemy. You will allow yourself, indeed, to be prudent in the Management of your Fortune; you are not a Prodigal, like *Clodius*, or *Catiline*, but surely that deserves not the Name of *Avarice*. I will inform you how to be convinced. Disguise your Person; go among the common People in *Rome*; introduce Discourses about yourself; enquire your own Character: Do the same in your own Camp; walk about it in the Evening, hearken at every Tent; and, if you do not hear every Mouth censuring, lamenting, cursing this Vice in you, and even you for this Vice, conclude yourself innocent. If you be not yet

^a Wet Stockings.

“ persuaded

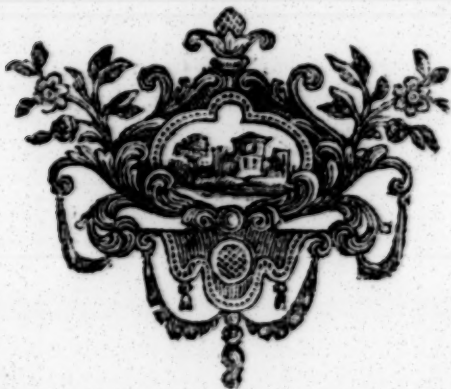
“persuaded, send for *Atticus*, *Servius Sulpicius*,
 “*Cato*, or *Brutus*; they are all your Friends; con-
 “jure them to tell you, ingenuously, which is your
 “great Fault, and which they would chiefly wish
 “you to correct; if they do not agree in their Ver-
 “dict, *in the Name of all the Gods*, you are acquit-
 “ted.”

“WHEN your Adversaries reflect how far you are
 “gone in this Vice, they are tempted to talk as if
 “we owed our Successes not to your Courage or Con-
 “duct, but to those *Veteran* Troops you command;
 “who are able to conquer under any *General*, with
 “so many brave and experienced Officers to lead
 “them. Besides, we know the Consequences your
 “Avarice hath often occasioned. The Soldier hath
 “been starving for Bread, surrounded with Plenty,
 “and in an Enemy’s Country; but all under *Safe-*
 “*guards* and *Contributions*; which, if you had some-
 “times pleased to have exchanged for *Provisions*,
 “might, at the Expence of a few Talents in a Cam-
 “paign, have so endeared you to the Army, that
 “they would have desired you to lead them to the
 “utmost Limits of *Asia*. But you rather chose to
 “confine your Conquests within the fruitful Coun-
 “try of *Mesopotamia*, where Plenty of Money might
 “be raised. How far that fatal Greediness of Gold
 “might have influenced you, in breaking off the
 “Treaty with the old *Parthian* King *Ordes*, you
 “best can tell; your Enemies charge you with it;
 “your Friends offer nothing material in your De-
 “fence; and all agree, there is nothing so pernicious
 “which the Extremes of Avarice may not be able to
 “inspire.

“THE Moment you quit this Vice, you will be
 “a truly great Man; and still there will Imper-
 “fections

“fections enough remain, to convince us you are not
“a God. Farewell.”

PERHAPS a Letter of this Nature, sent to so reasonable a Man as *Crassus*, might have put him upon *examining* into himself, and correcting that little fordid Appetite, so utterly inconsistent with all Pretences to *Heroism*. A Youth, in the Heat of Blood, may plead, with some Shew of Reason, that he is not able to subdue his Lusts. An ambitious Man may use the same Arguments for his Love of Power; or, perhaps, other Arguments to justify it. But Excess of Avarice hath neither of these Pleas to offer; it is not to be justified, and cannot pretend Temptation for Excuse. Whence can the Temptation come? Reason disclaims it altogether; and it cannot be said to lodge in the *Blood*, or the *Animal Spirits*. So that I conclude, *No Man of true Valour, and true Understanding, upon whom this Vice hath stolen unawares, when he is convinced he is guilty, will suffer it to remain in his Breast an Hour.*



T H E

THE
EXAMINER.

NUMBER XXVIII.

Thursday, February 15, 1710.

Inultus ut tu riseris Cotytia?

An Answer to the Letter to the Examiner.

SIR,

London, Feb. 15, 1710.

ALTHOUGH I have wanted Leisure to acknowledge the Honour of a Letter you was pleased to write to me, about six Months ago; yet I have been very careful in obeying some of your Commands, and am going on as fast as I can, with the rest. I wish you had thought fit to have conveyed them to me by a more private Hand than that of the *Printing-House*: For, although I was pleased with a Pattern of Style and Spirit, which I proposed to imitate, yet I was sorry the World should be a Witness how far I fell short in both.

I AM afraid you did not consider what an Abundance of Work you have cut out for me; neither am I at all comforted by the Promise you are so kind

to make, that when I have performed my Task, D——n shall blush in his Grave among the Dead, W——e among the Living, and even V——le shall feel some Remorse. How the Gentleman in his Grave may have kept his Countenance, I cannot inform you, having no Acquaintance at all with the Sexton: But for the other two, I take Leave to assure you, there have not yet appeared the least Signs of *Blushing* or *Remorse*, in either, although some very good Opportunities have offered, if they had thought fit to accept them: So that, with your Permission, I had rather engage to continue this Work until they be in their Graves too; which, I am sure, will happen much sooner than the other.

You desire I would collect some of those Indignities offered last Year to her Majesty. I am ready to oblige you; and have got a pretty tolerable Collection by me, which I am in doubt whether to publish by itself in a large Volume in Folio, or scatter them here and there, occasionally, in my Papers. Although, indeed, I am sometimes thinking to stifle them altogether; because such a History will be apt to give Foreigners a monstrous Opinion of our Country. But, since it is your absolute Opinion, that the World should be informed; I will, with the first Occasion, pick out a few choice Instances, and let them take their Chance in the ensuing Papers. I have also, in my Cabinet, certain Quires of Paper, filled with Facts of Corruption, Mismanagement, Cowardice, Treachery, Avarice, Ambition, and the like; with an Alphabetical Table, to save Trouble. And, perhaps, you will not wonder at the Care I take to be so well provided, when you consider

the vast Expence I am at. I feed, weekly, two or three *Wit-starved* Writers, who have no other visible Support; beside several others, who live upon my Offals. In short, I am like a Nurse, who suckles Twins at one Time; and hath, besides, *one or two Whelps* constantly to draw her Breasts.

I MUST needs confess (and it is with Grief I speak it) that I have been the innocent Cause of a great Circulation of Dulness: At the same Time I have often wondered how it hath come to pass, that these industrious People, after poring so constantly upon the *Examiner*, a Paper writ with plain Sense, and in a tolerable Style, have made so little Improvement. I am sure it would have fallen out quite otherwise with me: For, by what I have seen of their Performances (and, I am credibly informed, they are all of a Piece) if I had perused them until now, I should have been fit for little but to make an Advocate in the same Cause.

You, Sir, perhaps, will wonder, as most others do, what End these angry Folks propose, in writing perpetually against the *Examiner*: It is not to begot a better Opinion of the late Ministry, or with any Hope to convince the World that I am in the wrong in any one Fact I relate; they know all that to be lost Labour, and yet their Design is important enough: They would fain provoke me, by all Sorts of Methods within the Length of their Capacity, to answer their Papers; which would render mine wholly useless to the Publick: For, if it once came to Rejoinder and Reply, we should be all upon a Level; and then their Work would be done.

THERE

THERE is one Gentleman^a, indeed, who hath written three small Pamphlets upon the *Management of the War*, and the *Treaty of Peace*. These I had intended to have bestowed a Paper in *examining*; and could easily have made it appear, that whatever he says of Truth, relates not at all to the Evils we complain of, or controuls one Syl-
lable of what I have ever advanced. No body, that I know of, did ever dispute the Duke of *Marlborough's* Courage, Conduct, or Success; they have been always unquestionable, and will continue to be so, in spite of the Malice of his Enemies, or, which is yet more, the *Weakness of his Advocates*. The Nation only wished to see him taken out of ill Hands, and put into better. But what is all this to the Conduct of the late Ministry, the shameful Mismanagements in *Spain*, or the wrong Steps in the Treaty of Peace; the Secret of which will not bear the Light, and is, consequently, by this Author very poorly defended? These, and many other Things, I would have shewn; but, upon second Thoughts, determined to have it done in a Discourse by itself, rather than take up Room here, and break into the Design of this Paper, from whence I have resolved to banish Controversy as much as possible. But the Postscript to his third Pamphlet was enough to disgust me from having any Dealings at all with such a Writer; unless that Part was left to some *Footman* he hath picked up among the Boys who follow the Camp, whose Character it would suit much better than that of the supposed Author: At least, the foul Language, the idle, impotent Me-

^a Dr. Hare, afterwards Bishop of *Chichester*.

naces, and the gross perverting of an innocent Expression in the fourth *Examiner*, joined to that Respect I shall ever have for the Function of a *Divine*, would incline me to believe so. But when he turns off his *Footman*, and disclaims that Postscript, I will tear it out, and see how far the rest deserves to be considered.

BUT, Sir, I labour under a much greater Difficulty, upon which I should be glad to hear your Advice. I am worried, on one Side, by the *Whigs*, for being too severe; and by the *Tories*, on the other, for being too *gentle*. I have formerly hinted a Complaint of this; but, having lately received two peculiar Letters, among many others, I thought nothing could better represent my Condition, or the Opinion which the warm Men of both Sides have of my Conduct, than to send you a Transcript of each. The former is exactly in these Words:

“ To the *Examiner*.

“ Mr. *Examiner*,

“ BY your continual reflecting upon the Conduct of the late Ministry, and by your Encomiums on the present, it is *as clear as the Sun at Noon-day*, that you are a *Jesuit*, or *Nonjuror*, employed by the Friends of the *Pretender* to endeavour to introduce *Popery* and *Slavery*, and *Arbitrary Power*, and to infringe the *sacred Act for Toleration of Dissenters*. Now, Sir, since the most *ingenious Authors*, who write weekly against you, are not able to teach you better Manners, I would have you to know, that those great and excellent Men, as low as you think them at present, do not want Friends that will take the first proper
“ Occasion

" Occasion to *cut your Throat*, as all such Enemies
 " to Moderation ought to be served. It is well you
 " have cleared another Person from being Author
 " of your cursed Libels ; although, d— mme,
 " perhaps after all, that may be a *Bamboozle* too.
 " However, I hope we shall soon ferret you out.
 " Therefore I advise you, as a Friend, to let fall
 " your Pen, and retire betimes ; for our Patience is
 " now at an End. It is enough to lose our Power and
 " Employments, without setting the whole Nation
 " against us. Consider, three Years is the Life of
 " a *Party* ; d— mme, *every Dog bath his Day*, and
 " it will be our Turn next : Therefore, take Warn-
 " ing, and learn to *sleep in a whole Skin* ; or, when-
 " ever we are uppermost, by G—d you shall find
 " no Mercy."

THE other Letter was in the following Terms :

" To the Examiner.

" SIR,

" I AM a *Country Member*, and constantly send a
 " Dozen of your Papers down to my *Electors*. I
 " have read them all, but, I confess, not with the
 " Satisfaction I expected. It is plain you know
 " a great deal more than you write ; why will you
 " not let us have it all out ? We are told, that
 " the QUEEN hath been a long time treated with
 " Insolence, by those she hath most obliged. Pray,
 " Sir, let us have a few good Stories upon that
 " Head. We have been cheated of several Millions ;
 " why will not you set a Mark on the Knaves who
 " are guilty, and shew us what Ways they took to
 " rob the Publick at such a Rate ? Inform us how
 " we came to be disappointed of Peace, about two

“ Years ago. In short, turn the whole Mystery of
 “ Iniquity inside out, that every Body may have a
 “ View of it. But above all, explain to us what
 “ was at the Bottom of that same *Impeachment*: I
 “ am sure I never liked it; for, at that very Time,
 “ a *dissenting* Preacher, in our Neighbourhood, came
 “ often to see our Parson; it could be for no Good,
 “ for he would walk about the Barns and the Sta-
 “ bles, and desire to look into the Church, as *who*
 “ *should say, These will shortly be mine*: and we all
 “ believed he was then contriving some Alterations,
 “ against he got into Possession. And I shall never
 “ forget, that a *Whig-Justice* offered me then very
 “ high for my Bishop’s Lease. I must be so bold
 “ to tell you, Sir, that you are too favourable: I am
 “ sure there was no living in Quiet for us, while
 “ they were in the *Saddle*. I was turned out of the
 “ the Commission, and called a *Jacobite*, although
 “ it cost me a thousand Pounds in joining with
 “ Prince of *Orange* at the *Revolution*. The Disco-
 “ veries I would have you make, are of some Facts
 “ for which they ought to be hanged; not that I
 “ value their Heads, but I would see them exposed,
 “ which may be done upon the Owners *Shoulders* as
 “ well as upon a *Pole*,” &c.

THESE, Sir, are the Sentiments of a whole Party
 on one Side, and of considerable Numbers on the
 other: However, taking the *Medium* between these
 Extremes, I think to go on as I have hitherto done,
 although I am sensible my Paper would be more
 popular, if I did not lean too much to the favourable
 Side. For nothing delights the People more, than
 to see their Oppressors humbled, and all their Actions
 painted with proper Colours, set out in open View.

Exaustos

Exactos Tyrannos densum humeris bibit aure vulgus.

BUT as for the *Whigs*, I am in some doubt, whether this mighty Concern they shew for the Honour of the late Ministry, may not be affected; at least whether their Masters will thank them for their Zeal in such a Cause. It is, I think, a known Story of a Gentleman, who fought another for calling him *Son of a Whore*; but his Mother desired her Son to make no more Quarrels upon that Subject, *because it was true*. For, pray, Sir, doth it not look like a Jest, that such a pernicious Crew, after draining our Wealth, and discovering the most destructive Designs against our Church and State; instead of thanking Fortune that they are got off safe in their Persons and Plunder, should hire these Bullies of the Pen, to defend their Reputations? I remember, I thought it the hardest Case in the World, when a poor Acquaintance of mine, having fallen in among Sharpers, where he lost all his Money, and then complaining he was cheated, got a good Beating into the Bargain, *for offering to affront Gentlemen*. I believe the only Reason why these Purloiners of the Publick, cause such a Clutter to be made about their Reputations, is to prevent Inquisitions that might tend towards making them refund: Like those Women they call *Shop-lifters*, who, when they are challenged for their Thefts, appear to be mighty angry and affronted, for fear of being searched.

I WILL dismiss you, Sir, when I have taken notice of one Particular. Perhaps you may have observed in the tolerated factious Papers of the Week, that the Earl of *Rochester* is frequently reflected on for having been *Ecclesiastical Commissioner* and *Lord Treasurer*, in the Reign of the late King *James*.

The Fact is true ; and it will not be denied, to his immortal Honour, that because he could not comply with the Measures then taking, he resigned both those Employments, of which the latter was immediately supplied by a Commission, composed of two Popish Lords, and the present Earl of *Godolphin*.



THE
EXAMINER.

NUMBER XXIX.

Thursday, February 22, 1710.

Laus summa in fortunæ bonis, non extulisse se in potestate, non fuisse insolentem in pecunia, non se prætulisse aliis propter abundantiam fortunæ.

I Am conscious to myself, that I write this Paper with no other Intention but that of doing good. I never received Injury from the late Ministry; nor Advantage from the present, farther than in common with every good Subject. There were among the former one or two, who must be allowed to have possessed very valuable Qualities; but proceeding by a System of Politicks which our Constitution could not suffer, and discovering a Contempt of all Religion, especially of that which hath been so happily established among us ever since the Reformation; they seem to have been justly suspected of no very good Inclinations to either.

Ir

IT is possible, that a Man may speculatively prefer the Constitution of another Country, or an *Utopia* of his own, before that of the Nation where he is born and lives ; yet, from considering the Dangers of Innovation, the Corruptions of Mankind, and the frequent Impossibility of reducing Ideas to Practice, he may join heartily in preserving the present Order of Things, and be a true Friend to the Government already settled. So in Religion ; a Man may, perhaps, have little or none of it at Heart ; yet if he conceals his Opinions, if he endeavours to make no Profelytes, advances no impious Tenets in Writing or Discourse ; if, according to the common Atheistical Notion, he believes Religion to be only a Contrivance of Politicians for keeping the Vulgar in Awe, and that the present Model is better adjusted than any other to so useful an End ; although the Condition of such a Man, as to his own future State, be very deplorable ; yet Providence, which often works Good out of Evil, can make even such a Man an Instrument for contributing towards the Preservation of the Church.

ON the other Side ; I take a State to be truly in Danger, both as to its Religion and Government, when a Set of ambitious Politicians, bred up in a Hatred to the Constitution, and a Contempt for all Religion, are forced upon exerting these Qualities in order to keep or increase their Power, by widening their Bottom, and taking in (like *Mahomet*) some Principles from every Party, that is in any Way discontented at the present Faith and Settlement ; which was manifestly our Case. Upon this Occasion, I remember to have asked some considerable *Whigs*, Whether it did not bring a Disreputation upon their Body, to have the whole Herd of Presbyterians, Independents,

dependents, Atheists, Anabaptists, Deists, Quakers, and *Socinians*, openly and universally listed under their Banners? They answered, That all this was absolutely necessary, in order to make a Balance against the *Tories*; and all little enough: For, indeed, it was as much as they could possibly do, although assisted with the absolute Power of disposing every Employment; while the Bulk of the *English* Gentry kept firm to their old Principles in Church and State.

BUT, notwithstanding whatever I have hitherto said, I am informed, several among the *Whigs* continue still so refractory, that they will hardly allow the Heads of their Party to have entertained any Designs of ruining the Constitution; or that they would have endeavoured it, if they had continued in Power. I beg their Pardon, if I have discovered a Secret; but who could imagine they ever intended it should be one, after those *Overt Acts*, with which they thought fit to conclude their *Farce*? But, perhaps, they *now* find it convenient to deny vigorously, that the Question may remain, *Why was the old Ministry changed?* Which they urge on, without ceasing, as if no Occasion in the least had been given; but that all were owing to the Insinuations of crafty Men, practising upon the Weakness of an easy Prince. I shall therefore offer, among an hundred, one Reason for this Change, which, I think, would justify any Monarch who ever reigned, for the like Proceeding.

IT is notorious enough, how highly Princes have been blamed in the Histories of all Countries, particularly of our own, upon the Account of their *Misdeeds*; who have been ever justly odious to the People, for their Insolence and Avarice, and engrossing the

the Favours of their Masters. Whoever hath been the least conversant in the *English* Story, cannot but have heard of *Gaveston*, the *Spensers*, and some others ; who, by the Excess and Abuse of their Power, cost the Princes they served, or rather governed, their Crowns and Lives. However, in the Case of *Minions*, it must at least be acknowledged, that the Prince is pleased and happy, although his Subjects be aggrieved ; and he has the Plea of Friendship to excuse him, which is a Disposition of generous Minds. Besides, a wise *Minion*, although he be haughty to others, is humble and insinuating to his Master, and cultivates his Favour by Obedience and Respect. But *our* Misfortune hath been a great deal worse ; we have suffered for some Years under the Oppression, the Avarice, and Insolence of those, for whom the QUEEN had neither Esteem nor Friendship ; who rather seemed to snatch their own Dues, than receive the Favour of their Sovereign ; and were so far from returning Respect, that they forgot common Good Manners. They imposed on their Prince, by urging the Necessity of Affairs of their own creating : They first raised Difficulties, and then offered them as Arguments to keep themselves in Power. They united themselves, against Nature and Principle, to a Party they had always abhorred, and which was now content to come in upon any Terms, leaving them and their Creatures in full Possession of the Court. Then they urged the formidable Strength of that Party, and the Dangers which must follow by disobliging it. So that it seems almost a Miracle, how a Princess, thus besieged on all Sides, could *alone* have Courage and Prudence enough to extricate herself.

AND

AND, indeed there is a Point of History relating to this Matter, which well deserveth to be considered. When her Majesty came to the Crown, she took into Favour and Employment several Persons who were esteemed the best Friends of the old Constitution; among whom none were reckoned farther gone in the *High-church* Principles (as they are usually called) than two or three who had, at that Time, most Credit; and ever since, until within these few Months, possessed all Power at Court. So that the first Umbrage given to the *Whigs*, and the Pretences for clamouring against *France* and the *Pretender* were derived from them. And, I believe, nothing appeared then more unlikely, than that such different Opinions should ever incorporate; that Party having, upon former Occasions, treated those very Persons with Enmity enough. But some Lords, then about Court, and in the QUEEN's good Graces, not able to endure those growing Impositions upon the Prince and People, presumed to interpose; and were consequently soon removed and disgraced. However, when a most exorbitant Grant was proposed, antecedent to any visible Merit, it miscarried in Parliament, for want of being seconded by those who had most Credit in the House; and, who having always opposed the like Excesses in a former Reign, thought it their Duty to do so still, to shew the World, that the Dislike was not against Persons, but Things. But this was to cross the *Oligarchy* in the tenderest Point; a Point which outweighed all Considerations of Duty and Gratitude to their Prince, or Regard to the Constitution: And, therefore, after having in several private Meetings concerted Measures with their old Enemies, and granted as well as received Conditions; they began to change their Style and their Countenance,

Countenance, and to put it as a Maxim in the Mouths of their Emissaries, That *England must be saved by Whigs*. This unnatural League was afterwards cultivated by another Incident, I mean the *Act of Security*, and the Consequences of it, which every body knows; when (to use the Words of my Correspondent^a) *the Sovereign Authority was parcelled out among the Faction, and made the Purchase of Indemnity for an offending Minister*. Thus, the Union of the two Kingdoms improved that between the Ministry and the *Junto*, which was afterwards cemented by their mutual Danger in that Storm they so narrowly escaped about three Years ago; but however, was not quite perfected till Prince George's Death; and then they went lovingly on together, both satisfied with their several Shares, at full Liberty to gratify their predominant Inclinations; the first their Avarice and Ambition; the other, their Models of Innovation in Church and State.

THEREFORE, whoever thinks fit to revive that baffled Question, *Why was the late Ministry changed?* may receive the following Answer: That it was become necessary, by the Insolence and Avarice of some about the QUEEN, who, in order to perpetuate their Tyranny, had made a monstrous Alliance with those who profess Principles destructive to our Religion and Government. If this will not suffice; let him make an Abstract of all the Abuses I have mentioned in my former Papers, and view them together; after which, if he still remain unsatisfied, let him suspend his Opinion a few Weeks longer. Although, after all, I think the Question as trifling as that of the Papists, when they ask us, *Where was our Religion before Luther?* And, indeed, the Mi-

^a Letter to the Examiner.

nistry was changed for the same Reasons that Religion was reformed; because a thousand Corruptions had crept into the *Discipline* and *Doctrine* of the *State*, by the Pride, the Avarice, the Fraud, and the Ambition of those *who administered to us in secular Affairs*.

I HEARD myself censured the other Day in a Coffee-house, for seeming to glance, in the Letter to *Craffus*, against a great Man, who is still in Employment, and likely to continue so. What if I had really intended that such an Application should be given it? I cannot perceive how I could be justly blamed for so gentle a Reproof. If I saw a handsome young Fellow, going to a Ball at Court, with a great *Smut* upon his Face; could he take it ill in me to point out the Place, and desire him, with abundance of good Words, to pull out his Handkerchief and wipe it off; or bring him to a Glass, where he might plainly see it with his own Eyes? Doth any Man think I shall suffer my Pen to inveigh against Vices, only because they are charged upon Persons who are no longer in Power? Every body knows, that certain Vices are more or less pernicious, according to the Stations of those who possess them. For Example, Lewdness and Intemperance are not of so bad Consequences in a Town Rake, as in a Divine; Cowardice in a Lawyer is more supportable than in an Officer of the Army. If I should find Fault with an Admiral, because he wanted *Politeness*; or an Alderman, for not understanding *Greek*; that, indeed, would be to go out of the Way for an Occasion of quarrelling. But excessive Avarice in a General is, I think, the greatest Defect he can be liable to, next to those of Courage and Conduct, and may be attended with the most ruinous Consequences, as it was in *Craffus*, who to that Vice alone owed the Destruction of himself
and

and his Army. It is the same thing in praising Mens Excellencies; which are more or less valuable as the Person you commend hath occasion to employ them. A Man may, perhaps, mean honestly; yet, if he be not able to spell, he shall never have my Vote to be a Secretary. Another may have Wit and Learning in a Post where Honesty, with plain Common Sense, are of much more Use. You may praise a Soldier for his Skill at *Chefs*, because it is said to be a Military Game, and the Emblem of drawing up an Army; but this, to a Treasurer, would be no more a Compliment, than if you called him a *Gamester*, or a *Jockey*.

P. S. I have received a Letter, relating to Mr. *Greenshields*. The Person that sent it may know, that I will say something to it in the next Paper.



THE

THE
EXAMINER.

NUMBER XXX.

Thursday, February 22, 1710.

Quæ enim domus tam stabilis, quæ tam firma civitas est, quæ non odiis atque diffidiis funditus possit everti?

IF we examine what Societies of Men are in closest Union among themselves, we shall find them either to be those who are engaged in some evil Design, or who labour under one common Misfortune. Thus the Troops of *Banditti* in several Countries abroad, the Knots of *Highwaymen* in our own Nation, the several Tribes of *Sharps*, *Thieves*, and *Pickpockets*, with many others, are so firmly knit together, that nothing is more difficult than to break or dissolve their several *Gangs*: So likewise, those who are Fellow-Sufferers under any Misfortune, whether it be in Reality or Opinion, are usually contracted into a very strict Union; as we may observe in the *Peasants* throughout this Kingdom, under those real Difficulties

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difficulties

ficulties which are justly put on them ; and in the several Schisms of *Presbyterians*, and other Sects, under that grievous Persecution of the modern Kind, called *Want of Power*. And the Reason why such Confederacies are kept so sacred and inviolable, is very plain ; because in each of those Cases I have mentioned, the whole Body is moved by one Spirit, in Pursuit of one general End, and the Interest of Individuals is not crossed by each other, or by the whole.

- Now both these Motives are joined to unite the
- *High-flying Whigs* at present : They have been always engaged in an *evil Design*, and of late they are faster rivetted by that terrible Calamity, the Loss of Power. So that whatever Designs a mischievous Crew of dark Confederates may possibly entertain, who will stop at no Means to compass them, may be justly apprehended from these.

ON the other Side, those who wish well to the Publick, and would gladly contribute to its Service, are apt to differ in their Opinions about the Methods of promoting it ; and when their Party flourishes, are sometimes envious at those in Power ; ready to over-value their own Merit, and be impatient until it be rewarded by the Measure they have prescribed for themselves. There is a farther Topick of Contention, which a ruling Party is apt to fall into in relation to *Retrospections*, and Enquiry into past Mis-carriages ; wherein *some* are thought too warm and zealous, *others* too cool and remiss ; while, in the mean Time, these Divisions are industriously fomented by the discarded Faction ; which, although it be an old Practice, hath been much improved in the Schools of the *Jesuits*, who, when they despaired of perverting this Nation to *Popery* by Arguments or Plots against the State, sent their Emisseries to sub-
divide

divide us into Schisms. And this Expedient is now with great Propriety taken up by our Men of *incensed Moderation* ; because they suppose themselves able to attack the strongest of our Subdivisions, and so subdue us one after another. Nothing better resembles this Proceeding, than that famous Combat between the *Horatii* and *Curiatii* ; where two of the former being killed, the third, who remained entire and untouched, was able to kill his three wounded Adversaries, after he had divided them by a Stratagem. I well know with how tender a Hand all this should be touched ; yet, at the same time, I think it my Duty to *warn* the Friends, as well as *expose* the Enemies of the publick Weal ; and to begin preaching up *Union* upon the first Suspicion that any Steps are made to disturb it.

BUT the two chief Subjects of Discontent, which, upon most great Changes in the Management of publick Affairs, are apt to breed Differences among those who are in Possession, are what I have just now mentioned ; a Desire of punishing the Corruption of former Managers ; and the rewarding *Merit* among those who have been any way instrumental or consenting to the Change. The first of these is a Point so nice, that I shall purposely wave it. But the latter I take to fall properly within my District. By *Merit* I here understand that Value which every Man puts upon his own Deservings from the Publick. And, I believe, there could not be a more difficult Employment found out, than that of *Paymaster-General* to this Sort of *Merit* ; or a more noisy, crowded Place, than a Court of *Judicature*, erected to settle and adjust every Man's Claim upon that Article. I imagine, if this had fallen into the Fancy of the ancient Poets, they would have dressed it up, after

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their

their Manner, into an agreeable Fiction; and given us a Genealogy and Description of *Merit*, perhaps not very different from that which follows:

A Poetical Genealogy and Description of MERIT.

“ THAT *true Merit* was the Son of *Virtue* and
 “ *Honour*; but that there was likewise a spurious
 “ Child who usurped the Name, and whose Parents
 “ were *Vanity* and *Impudence*. That, at a Distance,
 “ there was a great Resemblance between them, and
 “ they were often mistaken for each other. That the
 “ *Bastard Issue* had a loud shrill Voice, which was
 “ perpetually employed in *Crawlings* and *Complaints*;
 “ while the other never spoke louder than a *Whisper*
 “ and was often so bashful, that he could not speak
 “ at all. That in all great Assemblies the *false Merit*
 “ would step before the *true*, and stand just in his
 “ Way; was constantly at Court, or great Mens
 “ *Levees*, or whispering in some Minister's Ear.
 “ That the more you fed him, the more hungry
 “ and importunate he grew. That he often passed
 “ for the true Son of *Virtue* and *Honour*, and the
 “ Genuine for an Impostor. That he was born dis-
 “ torted and a Dwarf, but by Force of Art appear-
 “ ed of a handsome Shape, and taller than the usual
 “ Size; and that none but those who were wise and
 “ good, as well as vigilant, could discover his Little-
 “ ness or Deformity. That the *true Merit* had been
 “ often forced to the Indignity of applying to the *false*
 “ for his Credit with those in Power, and to keep
 “ himself from starving. That *false Merit* filled the
 “ *Anti-Chambers* with a Crew of his Dependants and
 “ Creatures, such as *Projectors*, *Schematists*, *Occasi-*
 “ *onal Converts to a Party*, *prostitute Flatterers*,
 “ *starveling Writers*, *Buffoons*, *shallow Politicians*,
 “ empty

" *empty Orators*, and the like; who all owned him
" for their Patron, and grew discontented if they
" were not immediately fed."

THIS metaphorical Description of *false Merit* is, I doubt, calculated for most Countries in Christendom; and as to our own, I believe it may be said, with a sufficient Reserve of Charity, that we are fully able to reward every Man among us according to his real Deservings. And, I think, I may add, without Suspicion of Flattery, that never any Prince had a Ministry with a better Judgment to distinguish between *false* and *real Merit*, than that which is now at the Helm; or whose Inclination, as well as Interest, it is to encourage the latter. And it ought to be observed, that those great and excellent Persons we see at the Head of Affairs, are of the Q—'s *own, personal, voluntary Choice*; not forced upon her by any *insolent, over-grown Favourite*, or by the pretended Necessity of complying with an *unruly Faction*.

YET these are the Persons whom those Scandals to the Press, in their daily Pamphlets and Papers, openly revile at so ignominious a Rate, as, I believe, was never tolerated before, under any Government. For surely no lawful Power derived from a Prince should be so far affronted, as to leave those who are in Authority, exposed to every scurrilous Libeller: because in this Point, I make a mighty Difference between those who are *in*, and those who are *out* of Power; not upon any Regard to their Persons, but the Stations they are placed in by the Sovereign. And if my Distinction be right, I think I might appeal to any Man, whether, if a Stranger were to read the *Invectives* which are daily published against the pre-

sent Ministry, and the outrageous Fury of the Authors against me for censuring the last ; he would not conclude the *Whigs* to be at this Time in full Possession of Power and Favour, and the *Tories* entirely at Mercy. But all this now ceases to be a Wonder, since the Q—— herself is no longer spared ; witness the Libel published some Days ago, under the Title of *A Letter to Sir J—— b B——* ks, where the Reflections upon her sacred Majesty are much more plain and direct than ever the *Examiner* thought fit to publish against the most obnoxious Persons in a *M——ry*, discarded for endeavouring the Ruin of their Prince and Country. *Cæsar*, indeed, threatened to hang the *Pirates* for presuming to disturb him, while he was their Prisoner aboard their Ship. But it was *Cæsar* who did so, and he did it to a Crew of *publick Robbers* ; and it became the Greatness of his Spirit, for he lived to execute what he had threatened. Had *they* been in his Power, and sent such a Message, it could be imputed to nothing but the Extremes of Impudence, Folly, or Madness.

I HAD a Letter last Week, relating to Mr. *Greenfields*, an *Episcopal* Clergyman of *Scotland*, and the Writer seems to be a Gentleman of that Part of *Britain*. I remember, formerly to have read a printed Account of Mr. *Greenfields's* Case, who has been prosecuted and silenced for no other Reason besides reading Divine Service after the Manner of the Church of *England*, to his own Congregation, who desired it ; though, as the Gentleman who writes to me says, there is no Law in *Scotland* against those Meetings ; and he adds, that the Sentence pronounced against Mr. *Greenfields* will soon be affirmed, if some Care be not taken to prevent it. I am altogether uninformed in the Particulars of this Case, and, besides,

sides, to treat it justly, would not come within the compass of my Paper ; therefore I could wish the Gentleman would undertake it in a Discourse by itself ; and I should be glad he would inform the Publick in one Fact, Whether *Episcopal* Assemblies are freely allowed in *Scotland* ? 'Tis notorious, that abundance of their Clergy fled from thence some Years ago into *England* and *Ireland*, as from a Persecution ; but it was alledged by their Enemies, that they refused to take the Oaths to the Government, which, however, none of them scrupled when they came among us. It is somewhat extraordinary to see our *Whigs* and *Fanaticks* keep such a Stir about the *sacred Act of Toleration*, while their *Brethren* will not allow a Connivance in so near a Neighbourhood ; especially if what the Gentleman insists on in his Letter be true, that nine Parts in ten of the Nobility and Gentry, and two in three of the Commons are *episcopal* ; of which, one Argument he offers is, the present Choice of their Representatives in both Houses, tho' opposed to the utmost by the *Preachings*, *Threatnings*, and *Anathema's* of the *Kirk*. Such Usage to a Majority may, he thinks, be of dangerous Consequence ; and I entirely agree with him. If these be the Principles of the *High-kirk*, God preserve, at least, the Southern Parts from their Tyranny !

THE
EXAMINER.

NUMBER XXXI.

Thursday, March 8, 1710.

—Garrit aniles
Ex re fabellas.

I HAD, last Week, sent me, by an unknown Hand, a Passage out of *Plato*, with some Hints how to apply it: That Author puts a Fable into the Mouth of *Aristophanes*, with an Account of the Original of *Love*: That Mankind was at first created with four Arms and Legs, and all other Parts double to what they are now; till *Jupiter*, as a Punishment for his Sins, cleft him in two with a Thunderbolt, since which Time we are always looking out for our other Half; and this is the Cause of *Love*. But *Jupiter* threatened, that if they did not mend their Manners, he would give them t'other Slit, and leave them to hop about in the Shape of Figures in *Basso rilievo*. The Effect of this last Threatning, my Correspondent imagines, is now
come

come to pass ; and that as the first *splitting* was the Original of *Love*, by inclining us to search for our other Half ; so the second was the Cause of *Hatred*, by prompting us to fly from our *other Side*, and dividing the same *Body* into two, gave each Slice the Name of a Party.

I approve the Fable and Application, with this Refinement upon it : For *Parties* do not only split a Nation, but every Individual among them, leaving each but half their Strength, and Wit, and Honesty, and Good Nature ; but one Eye and Ear for their Sight and Hearing, and equally lopping the rest of the Senses. Where *Parties* are pretty equal in a State, no Man can perceive one bad Quality in his own, or good one in his Adversary's. Besides, *Party* being a dry, disagreeable Subject, it renders Conversation insipid, or sour, and confines Invention. I speak not here of the Leaders, but the insignificant Croud of Followers in a Party, who have been the Instruments of mixing it in every Condition and Circumstance of Life. As the Zealots among the *Jews* bound the Law about their Foreheads, and Wrists, and Hems of their Garments, so the Women among us have got the distinguishing Marks of *Party* in their Muffs, their Fans, and their Furbelows. The *Whig* Ladies put on their Patches in a different Manner from the *Tories*. They have made *Schisms* in the *Play-house*, and each have their particular Side at the *Opera*. And when a Man changes his *Party*, he must infallibly count upon the Loss of his Mistress. I asked a Gentleman, the other Day, How he liked such a Lady ? But he would not give me his Opinion 'till I had answered him whether she were a *Whig* or *Tory*. Mr. —, since he is known to visit the present M — ry, and lay some Time under a Suspicion of writing the *Examiner*,

miner, is no longer a Man of *Wit* ; his very *Poems* have contracted a Stupidity, many Years after they were printed.

HAVING lately ventured upon a metaphorical Genealogy of *Merit*, I thought it would be proper to add another of *Party*, or rather of *Faction* (to avoid Mistake) not telling the Reader whether it be my own, or a Quotation, till I know how it is approved. But whether I read, or dreamed it, the Fable is as follows :

“ LIBERTY, the Daughter of *Oppression*, after
 “ having brought forth several fair Children, as
 “ *Riches, Arts, Learning, Trade*, and many others,
 “ was at last delivered of her youngest Daughter,
 “ called *FACTION*, whom *Juno*, doing the Office
 “ of the Midwife, distorted in its Birth, out of Envy
 “ to the Mother, from whence it derived its *Peculiar-*
 “ *ness* and sickly Constitution. However, as it is
 “ often the Nature of Parents to grow most fond of
 “ their youngest and disagreeablest Children, so it
 “ happened with *Liberty*, who doated on this Daugh-
 “ ter to such a Degree, that by her Good-will she
 “ would never suffer the Girl to be out of her Sight.
 “ As Miss *Faction* grew up, she became so termagant
 “ and froward, that there was no enduring her any
 “ longer in *Heaven*. *Jupiter* gave her Warning to
 “ be gone ; and her Mother, rather than forsake her,
 “ took the whole Family down to *Earth*. She
 “ landed first in *Greece*, was expelled, by Degrees,
 “ through all the Cities, by her Daughter's ill
 “ Conduct : fled afterwards to *Italy*, and being ba-
 “ nished thence, took shelter among the *Goths*, with
 “ whom she passed into most Parts of *Europe* ; but,
 “ being driven out every where, she began to lose
 “ Esteem

“ Esteem, and her Daughter’s Faults were imputed
“ to herself: So that at this Time she has hardly a
“ Place in the World to retire to. One would wonder
“ what strange Qualities this Daughter must possess,
“ sufficient to blast the Influence of so divine a
“ Mother, and the rest of her Children. She always
“ affected to keep mean and scandalous Company;
“ valuing no body, but just as they agreed with her
“ in every capricious Opinion she thought fit to
“ take up; and rigorously exacting Compliance,
“ though she changed her Sentiments ever so often.
“ Her great Employment was to breed *Discord* among
“ Friends and Relations, and make monstrous
“ Alliances between those whose Dispositions least
“ resembled each other. Whoever offered to contradict
“ her, though in the most insignificant Trifle, she
“ would be sure to distinguish by some ignominious
“ *Appellation*, and allow them to have neither Honour,
“ Wit, Beauty, Learning, Honesty, nor Common
“ Sense. She intruded into all Companies
“ at the most unseasonable Times; mixed at Balls,
“ Assemblies, and other Parties of Pleasure, haunted
“ every *Coffee-house* and *Bookseller’s Shop*, and, by
“ her perpetual talking, filled all Places with Disturbance
“ and Confusion: She buzzed about the
“ *Merchant* in the *Exchange*, the *Divine* in his *Pulpit*,
“ and the *Shopkeeper* behind his *Counter*. Above
“ all, she frequented *publick Assemblies*; where she
“ sat in the Shape of an *obscene, ominous Bird*, ready
“ to prompt her *Friends* as they spoke.”

IF I understand this Fable of *FACTION* right, it ought to be applied to those who set themselves up against the true Interest and Constitution of their Country; which I wish the Undertakers for the

late M——ry would please to take notice of, or tell us by what Figure of Speech they pretend to call so great and unforced a Majority, with the Q—— at their Head, by the Name of the *Faction*; which is not unlike the Phrase of the *Nonjurors*, who dignifying one or two deprived Bishops, and half a score Clergymen of the same Stamp, with the Title of the *Church of England*, exclude all the rest as *Schismatics*; or, like the *Presbyterians*, laying the same Accusation, with equal Justice, against the Established Religion.

AND here it may be worth enquiring, what are the true Characteristics of a *Faction*; or how it is to be distinguished from that great Body of the People who are Friends to the Constitution? The Heads of a *Faction* are, usually, a Set of Upstarts, or Men ruined in their Fortunes, whom some great Change in a Government did at first, out of their Obscurity, produce upon the Stage. They associate themselves with those who dislike the old Establishment, Religious and Civil. They are full of new Schemes in Politicks and Divinity; they have an incurable Hatred against the old Nobility, and strengthen their Party by Dependants raised from the lowest of the People. They have several Ways of working themselves into Power; but they are sure to be called when a corrupt Administration wants to be supported against those who are endeavouring at a Reformation; and they firmly observe that celebrated Maxim of preserving *Power* by the same Arts by which it is attained. They act with the Spirit of those who believe their Time is but short; and their first Care is to heap up immense Riches at the publick Expence; in which they have two Ends, besides that common one of insatiable Avarice; which are, to make themselves necessary, and to keep the Common-wealth

wealth in Dependence. Thus they hope to compass their Design, which is, instead of fitting their Principles to the Constitution, to alter and adjust the Constitution to their own pernicious Principles.

'Tis easy determining by this Test, to which Side the Name of *Faction* most properly belongs. But, however, I will give them any System of Law, or Regal Government, from *William the Conqueror* to this present Time, to try whether they can tally it with their late Models; excepting only that of *Cromwell*, whom, perhaps, they will reckon for a Monarch.

IF the present Ministry, and so great a Majority in the Parliament and Kingdom be only a *Faction*, it must appear by some Actions, which answer the Idea we usually conceive from that Word. Have they abused the Prerogative of a Prince, or invaded the Rights and Liberties of the Subject? Have they offered at any dangerous Innovations in Church and State? Have they broached any Doctrines of Heresy, Rebellion, or Tyranny? Have any of them treated their Sovereign with Insolence, engrossed and sold all her Favours, or deceived her by base, gross Misrepresentations of her most faithful Servants? These are the Arts of a *Faction*, and whoever has practised them, they and their Followers must take up with the Name.

It is usually reckoned a *Whig* Principle to appeal to the People; but that is only when they have been so wise as to poison their Understandings beforehand. Will they now stand to this Appeal, and be determined by their *Vox populi*, to which Side their Title of *Faction* belongs? And that the People are now left to the natural Freedom of their Understanding and Choice, I believe, our Adversaries will hardly deny.

deny. They will now refuse this Appeal, and it is reasonable they should ; and I will farther add, that, if our People resembled the old *Grecians*, there might be Danger in such a Trial. A pragmatical Orator told a great Man at *Athens*, That whenever the People were in their Rage they would certainly tear him to Pieces ; Yes, says the other, and they will do the same to you, whenever they are in their Wits. But, God be thanked, our Populace is more merciful in their Nature, and at present under better Direction ; and the Orators among us have attempted to confound both Prerogative and Law in their Sovereign's Presence, and before the highest Court of Judicature, without any Hazard to their Persons.



T H E
E X A M I N E R.

N U M B E R XXXII.

Thursday, March 15, 1710.

Non est ea medicina, cum sanæ parti corporis scalpellum adhibetur, atque integræ ; carnificina est ista, & crudelitas. Hi medentur reipublicæ, qui exsecant pestem aliquam, tanquam strumam civitatis.

I Am diverted from the general Subject of my Discourses, to reflect upon an Event of a very extraordinary and surprizing Nature. A great Minister, in high Confidence with the Queen, under whose Management the Weight of Affairs at present is, in a great Measure, supposed to lie ; sitting in Council, in a Royal Palace, with a dozen of the chief Officers of the State, is stabbed at the very Board, in the Execution of his Office, by the Hand of a *French Papist*, then under Examination for High Treason ; the Assassin redoubles his Blow, to make sure Work ; and concluding the Chancellor ^a was dispatched, goes on

^a Mr. *Harley*, then Chancellor of the *Exchequer*, afterwards Earl of *Oxford*.

with

with the same Rage to murder a Principal Secretary of State: And that whole noble Assembly are forced to rise and draw their Swords in their own Defence, as if a wild Beast had been let loose among them.

THIS Fact hath some Circumstances of Aggravation, not to be paralleled by any of the like Kind we meet with in History. *Cæsar's* Murder being performed in the Senate, comes nearest to the Case; but that was an Affair concerted by great Numbers of the chief Senators, who were, likewise, the Actors in it; and not the Work of a vile, single Russian. *Harry the Third of France* was stabbed by an enthusiastick *Friar*, whom he suffered to approach his Person, while those who attended him stood at some Distance. His Successor met the same Fate in a Coach, where neither he, nor his Nobles, in such a Confinement, were able to defend themselves. In our own Country we have, I think, but one Instance of this Sort, which has made any Noise: I mean that of *Felton*, about Fourscore Years ago; but he took the Opportunity to stab the Duke of *Buckingham* in passing through a dark Lobby from one Room to another. The Blow was neither seen nor heard, and the Murderer might have escaped, if his own Concern and Horror, as it is usual in such Cases, had not betrayed him. Besides, that Act of *Felton* will admit of some Extenuation from the Motive he is said to have had: but this Attempt of *Guiscard* seems to have outdone them all in every heightening Circumstance, except the Difference of Persons between a King and a great Minister; for I give no Allowance at all to the Difference of Success (which, however, is yet uncertain and depending) nor think it the least Alleviation to the Crime, whatever it may be to the Punishment.

I A M

I AM sensible it is ill arguing from Particulars to Generals, and that we ought not to charge upon a Nation the Crimes of a few desperate Villains it is so unfortunate to produce ; yet, at the same time, it must be allowed, that the *French* have, for these last Centuries, been somewhat too liberal of their Daggers upon the Persons of their greatest Men ; such as the Admiral *de Coligny*, the Dukes of *Guise* Father and Son, and the two Kings I last mentioned. I have sometimes wondered how a People, whose Genius seems wholly turned to Singing, and Dancing, and Prating, to Vanity and Impertinence ; who lay so much Weight upon Modes and Gestures ; whose Essentialities are generally so very superficial ; who are usually so serious upon Trifles, and so trifling upon what is serious, have been capable of committing such solid Villainies, more suitable to the Gravity of a *Spaniard*, or the Silence and Thoughtfulness of an *Italian* : Unless it be, that in a Nation naturally so full of themselves, and of so restless Imaginations, when any of them happen to be of a morose and gloomy Constitution, that Huddle of confused Thoughts, for want of evaporating, usually terminates in Rage or Despair. *D'Avila* observes that *Jacques Clement* was a sort of Buffoon, whom the rest of the Friars used to make Sport with ; but at last, giving his Folly a serious Turn, it ended in Enthusiasm, and qualified him for that desperate Act of murdering his King.

BUT in the Marquis *de Guiscard* there seems to have been a Complication of Ingredients for such an Attempt. He had committed several Enormities in *France*, was extremely prodigal and vicious, of a dark melancholy Complexion and cloudy Countenance, such as in vulgar Physiognomy is called an *ill-Look*.

For the rest, his Talents were very mean, having a sort of inferior Cunning, but very small Abilities; so that a great Man of the late M——ry, by whom he was invited over, and, with much Discretion, raised, at first Step, from a profligate *popish Priest* to a Lieutenant General, and Colonel of a Regiment of Horse, was at last forced to drop him for Shame.

HAD such an Accident happened under that M——ry, and to so considerable a Member of it, they would have immediately charged it upon the whole Body of those they are pleased to call the *Faction*. This would have been styled a *High-church Principle*; the Clergy would have been accused, as Promoters and Abettors of the Fact; Com——ees would have been sent, to promise the Criminal his Life, provided they might have Liberty to direct and dictate his Confession; and a *Black List* would have been printed of all those who had been ever seen in the Murderer's Company. But the present Men in Power hate and despise all such detestable Arts, which they might now turn upon their Adversaries, with much more plausibility than ever these did their honourable Negotiations with *Greg*.

AND here it may be worth observing, how unanimous a Concurrence there is between some Persons, once in great Power, and a *French Papist*; both agreeing in the great End of taking away Mr. *Harley's* Life, though differing in their Methods; the first proceeding by Subornation, the other by Violence; wherein *Guiscard* seems to have the Advantage, as aiming no further than his Life; while the others designed to destroy, at once, both that and his Reputation. The Malice of both against this Gentleman seems to have risen from the same Cause, his discovering Designs against the Government. It was
Mr.

Mr. *Harley* who detected the treasonable Correspondence of *Greg*, and secured him betimes; when a certain great Man, who shall be nameless, had, out of the Depth of his Politicks, sent him a Caution to make his escape, which would certainly have fixed the Appearance of Guilt upon Mr. *Harley*; but when that was prevented, they would have enticed the condemned Criminal, with the Promise of a Pardon, to write and sign an Accusation against the Secretary: But, to use *Greg's* own Expression, *his Death was nothing near so ignominious, as would have been such a Life, that must be saved by prostituting his Conscience.* The same Gentleman now lies stabbed by his other Enemy, a *Popish Spy*, whose Treason he hath discovered. God preserve the rest of her Majesty's Ministers from such *Protestants*, and from such *Papists*!

I SHALL take Occasion to hint at some Particularities in this surprising Fact, for the sake of those at a Distance, or who may not be thoroughly informed. The Murderer confessed, in *Newgate*, that his chief Design was against Mr. Secretary *St. John*, who happened to change Seats with Mr. *Harley*, for more Convenience of examining the Criminal: And being asked what provoked him to stab the Chancellor; he said, that not being able to come at the Secretary, as he intended, it was some Satisfaction to murder the Person whom he thought Mr. *St. John* loved best.

AND here, if Mr. *Harley* hath still any Enemies left, whom his Blood spilt in the Publick Service cannot reconcile, I hope they will, at least, admire his Magnanimity, which is a Quality esteemed even in an Enemy: And I think there are few greater Instances of it to be found in Story. After the Wound was given, he was observed neither to change his

Countenance, nor discover any Concern or Disorder in his Speech. He rose up, and walked about the Room while he was able, with the greatest Tranquilly, during the Midst of the Confusion. When the Surgeon came, he took him aside, and desired he would inform him freely whether the Wound were mortal, because, in that Case, he said, he had some Affairs to settle, relating to his Family. The Blade of the Pen-knife, broken by the Violence of the Blow against a Rib, within a quarter of an Inch of the Handle, was dropt out (I know not whether from the Wound, or his Cloaths) as the Surgeon was going to dress him: He ordered it to be taken up, and, wiping it himself, gave it some body to keep, saying, he thought *it now properly belonged to him*. He shewed no sort of Resentment, nor spoke one violent Word against *Guiscard*, but appeared all the while the least concerned of any in the Company. A State of Mind which, in such an Exigency, nothing but Innocence can give, and is truly worthy of a *Christian Philosopher*.

IF there be really so great a Difference in Principle between the *High-flying Whigs* and the Friends of *France*, I cannot but repeat the Question, How come they to join in the Destruction of the same Plan? Can his Death be possibly for the Interest of both? or, Have they both the same Quarrel against him, that he is perpetually discovering and preventing the treacherous Designs of our Enemies? However it be, this great Minister may now say with *St. Paul*, that he hath been *in Perils by his own Countrymen, and in Perils by Strangers*.

IN the Midst of so melancholy a Subject, I cannot but congratulate with our own Country, that such a savage Monster as the *Marquis de Guiscard*, is none
of

of her Production: A Wretch, perhaps, more detestable in his own Nature, than even this barbarous Act has been yet able to represent him to the World. For there are good Reasons to believe, from several Circumstances, that he had Intentions of a deeper Dye than those he happened to execute; I mean such as every good Subject must tremble to think on. He hath, of late, been frequently seen going up the Backstairs at Court, and walking alone in an outer Room adjoining to her Majesty's Bed-chamber. He has often, and earnestly, pressed, for some Time to have Access to the Q—, even since his Correspondence with *France*. And he has now given such a Proof of his Disposition, as leaves it easy to guess what was before in his Thoughts, and what he was capable of attempting.

It is humbly to be hoped, that the Legislature will interpose on so extraordinary an Occasion as this, and direct a Punishment some Way proportionable to so execrable a Crime.

*Et quicumque tuum violavit vulnere corpus,
Morte luat merita.*



THE
EXAMINER.

NUMBER XXXIII.

Thursday, March 22, 1710.

*De Libertate retinenda, qua certe nihil est dulcius, tibi
assentior.*

THE *Apologies* of the ancient Fathers are reckoned to have been the most useful Parts of their Writings, and to have done the greatest Service to the Christian Religion; because they removed those Misrepresentations which had done it most Injury. The Methods these Writers took were openly and freely to discover every Point of their Faith, to detect the Falshood of their Accusers, and to charge nothing upon their Adversaries but what they were sure to make good. This Example hath been ill followed of later Times: The *Papists*, since the Reformation, using all Arts to palliate the Absurdities of their Tenets, and loading the Reformers with a thousand Calumnies; the Consequence of which hath been only a more various, wide, and inveterate Separation. It

is

is the same Thing in civil Schisms: A *Whig* forms an Image of a *Tory* just after the Thing he most abhors, and that Image serveth to represent the whole Body.

I AM not sensible of any material Difference there is between those who call themselves the *Old Whigs*, and a great Majority of the present *Tories*, at least, by all I could ever find, from examining several Persons of each Denomination. But it must be confessed, that the present Body of *Whigs*, as they now constitute that Party, is a very odd Mixture of Mankind; being forced to enlarge their Bottom, by taking in every heterodox Professor either in Religion or Government, whose Opinions they were obliged to encourage for fear of lessening their Number; while the Bulk of the Landed Men and People were entirely of the old Sentiments. However, they still pretended a due Regard to the *Monarchy* and the *Church*, even at the Time when they were making the largest Steps towards the Ruin of both: But not being able to wipe off the many Accusations laid to their Charge, they endeavoured, by throwing of Scandal, to make the *Tories* appear blacker than themselves; that so the People might join with *them*, as the smaller Evil of the two.

BUT among all the Reproaches which the *Whigs* have flung upon their Adversaries, there is none hath done them more Service than that of *Passive Obedience*, as they represent it, with the Consequences of *Non-resistance*, *Arbitrary Power*, *Indefeasible Right*, *Tyranny*, *Popery*, and what not. There is no Accusation which hath passed with more Plausibility than this; nor any that is supported with less Justice. In order, therefore, to undeceive those who have been misled by false Representations, I thought it would be no improper Undertaking to set this Matter in a fair Light, which, I think, hath not yet been

done. A *Whig* asks, Whether you hold *Passive Obedience*? You affirm it: He then immediately cries out, You are a *Jacobite*, a Friend of *France* and the *Pretender*! because he makes you answerable for the Definition he hath formed of that Term, however different it be from what you understand. I will therefore give two Descriptions of *Passive Obedience*; the first as it is falsely charged by the *Whigs*, the other as it is really professed by the *Tories*, at least by nineteen in twenty of all I ever conversed with.

Passive Obedience, as charged by the WHIGS.

THE Doctrine of *Passive Obedience* is, To believe that a King, even in a limited Monarchy, holding his Power only from God, is only answerable to him. That such a King is above all Law; that the cruelest Tyrant must be submitted to in all Things; and if his Commands be ever so unlawful, you must neither fly nor resist, nor use any other Weapons than *Prayers* and *Tears*. Although he should force your Wife or Daughter, murder your Children before your Face, or cut off five hundred Heads in a Morning for his Diversion; you are still to wish him a long, prosperous Reign, and to be patient under all his Cruelties, with the same Resignation as under a Plague or a Famine; because, to resist him would be to resist God in the Person of his Vicegerent. If a King of *England* should go through the Streets of *London*, in order to murder every Man he met, *Passive Obedience* commands them to submit. All Laws made to limit him signify nothing, although passed by his own Consent, if he thinks fit to break them. God will, indeed, call him to a severe Account; but the whole People, united to a Man, cannot presume to hold his Hands, or offer him the least *Active Disobedience*;
The

The People were certainly created for him, and not he for the People. His next Heir, although worse than what I have described, although a Fool or a Madman, hath a divine indefeasible Right to succeed him, which no Law can disannul; nay, although he should kill his Father upon the Throne, he is immediately King to all Intents and Purposes; the Possession of the Crown wiping off all Stains. But, whoever sits on the Throne, although ever so peaceably, and by Consent of former Kings and Parliaments, is an *Usurper*, while there is any where in the World another Person, who hath a nearer hereditary Right; and the whole Kingdom lies under mortal Sin until that Heir be restored; because he hath a divine Title which no human Law can defeat.

THIS, and a great deal more, hath, in a thousand Papers and Pamphlets, been laid to that Doctrine of *Passive Obedience*, which the *Whigs* are pleased to charge upon us. This is what they are perpetually instilling into the People, as the undoubted Principle by which the present Ministry, and a great Majority in Parliament, do at this Time proceed. This is what they accuse the Clergy of delivering from the Pulpits, and of preaching up as a Doctrine absolutely necessary to Salvation. And whoever affirms, in general, that *Passive Obedience* is due to the supreme Power, he is presently loaded, by our candid Adversaries, with such Consequences as these. Let us, therefore, see what this Doctrine is, when stript of such Misrepresentations, by describing it as really taught and practised by the *Tories*; and then it will appear what Grounds our Adversaries have to accuse us upon this Article.

Passive

Passive Obedience, as professed and practised by the
TORIES.

THEY think that in every Government, whether Monarchy or Republick, there is placed a supreme, absolute, unlimited Power, to which *Passive Obedience* is due. That wherever is entrusted the Power of making Laws, that Power is without all Bounds ; can repeal, or enact at Pleasure, whatever Laws it thinks fit ; and justly demand universal Obedience and Non-Resistance. That, among us, as every body knows, this Power is lodged in the King, or Queen, together with the Lords and Commons of the Kingdom ; and, therefore, all Decrees whatsoever, made by that Power, are to be actively or passively obeyed. That the Administration, or executive Part of this Power, is, in *England*, solely entrusted with the Prince, who, in administering those Laws, ought to be no more resisted than the Legislative Power itself. But they do not conceive the same absolute *Passive Obedience* to be due to a limited Prince's Commands, when they are directly contrary to the Laws he hath consented to, and sworn to maintain. The Crown may be sued as well as a private Person ; and if an arbitrary King of *England* should send his Officers to seize my Lands or Goods against Law, I can lawfully resist them. The Ministers, by whom he acts, are liable to Prosecution and Impeachment, although his own Person be sacred. But if he interpose his Royal Authority to support their Insolence, I see no Remedy, until it grows a general Grievance, or until the Body of the People have Reason to apprehend it will be so ; after which it becomes a Case of Necessity ; and then, I suppose, a free People may assert their own Rights, yet without any Violation to the Person, or lawful Power of the Prince. But, although the *Tories* allow
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all this, and did justify it by the Share they had in the *Revolution*; yet they see no Reason for entering upon so ungrateful a Subject, or raising Controversies upon it, as if we were in daily Apprehensions of *Tyranny* under the Reign of so excellent a Princess, and while we have so many Laws of late Years made to limit the Prerogative; when, according to the Judgment of those who know our Constitution best, Things rather seem to lean to the other Extreme, which is equally to be avoided. As to the Succession; the *Tories* think an *hereditary Right* to be the best in its own Nature, and most agreeable to our old Constitution; yet, at the same time, they allow it to be defeasible by Act of Parliament; and so is *Magna Charta* too, if the Legislature think fit: Which is a Truth so manifest, that no Man, who understands the Nature of Government, can be in Doubt concerning it.

THESE I take to be the Sentiments of a great Majority among the *Tories*, with respect to *Passive Obedience*: And if the *Whigs* insist, from the Writings, or common Talk, of warm and ignorant Men, to form a Judgment of the whole Body, according to the first Account I have here given; I will engage to produce as many of their Side, who are utterly against *Passive Obedience* even to the Legislature; who will assert the last Resort of Power to be in the People, against those whom they have chosen and trusted as their Representatives, with the Prince at the Head; and who will put wild, improbable Cases, to shew the Reasonableness and Necessity of resisting the legislative Power in such imaginary Junc-tures. Than which, however, nothing can be more idle; for I dare undertake, in any System of Government, either speculative or practick, that was ever yet in the World, from *Plato's Republick* to *Harrington's Oceano*, to put such Difficulties as cannot be answered.

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ALL the other Calumnies raised by the *Whigs* may be as easily wiped off ; and I have Charity to wish they could as fully answer the just Accusations we have against them. *Dodwell, Hickes, and Lesley* are gravely quoted, to prove that the *Tories* design to bring in the *Pretender* ; and if I should quote them, to prove that the same Thing is intended by the *Whigs*, it would be full as reasonable ; since, I am sure, they have, at least, as much to do with *Nonjurors* as we. But our Objections against the *Whigs* are built upon their constant Practice for many Years, whereof I have produced an hundred Instances against any single one ; to which no Answer hath yet been attempted, although I have been curious enough to look into all the Papers I could meet with, that are writ against the *Examiner* ; such a Task as, I hope, no Man thinks I would undergo for any other End but that of finding an Opportunity to own and rectify my Mistakes ; as I would be ready to do upon the Call of the *meanest* Adversary. Upon which Occasion I shall take Leave to add a few Words.

I FLATTERED myself, last *Thursday*, from the Nature of my Subject, and the inoffensive Manner I handled it, that I should have one Week's Respite from those merciless Pens, whose Severity will some Time break my Heart : But I am deceived, and find them more violent than ever. They charge me with two Lies and a Blunder. The first Lie is a Truth, that *Guiscard* was invited over ; but it is of no Consequence. I do not tax it as a Fault ; such sort of Men have often been serviceable : I only blamed the Indiscretion of raising a profligate Abbot, at the first Step, to a Lieutenant-General and Colonel of a Regiment of Horse, without staying some reasonable Time, as is usual in such Cases, until he had given some Proofs of his Fidelity, as well as of that Interest and Credit he pretended to have in his Country. But that

that is said to be another Lie ; for he was a *Papist*, and could not have a Regiment. However, this other Lie is a Truth too ; for a Regiment he had, and paid by us to his Agent *Monfieur le Bas*, for his Use. The third is a *Blunder*, that I say *Guiscard's* Design was against Mr. Secretary *St. John* ; and yet my Reasonings upon it are, as if it were personally against Mr. *Harley*. But I say no such thing, and my Reasonings are just. I relate only what *Guiscard* said in *Newgate*, because it was a Particularity the Reader might be curious to know (and accordingly it lies in a Paragraph by itself, after my Reflections) but I never meant to be answerable for what *Guiscard* said, or thought it of Weight enough for me to draw Conclusions from thence, when I had the Address of both Houses to direct me better ; where it is expressly said, *That Mr. Harley's Fidelity to her Majesty, and Zeal for her Service, have drawn upon him the Hatred of all the Abettors of Popery and Faction.* This is what I believe, and what I shall stick to.

BUT, alas ! these are not the Passages which have raised so much Fury against me. One or two Mistakes in Facts of no Importance, or a single Blunder, would not have provoked them ; they are not so tender of my Reputation as a Writer. All their Outrage is occasioned by those Passages in that Paper, which they do not in the least pretend to answer, and, with the utmost Reluctancy, are forced to mention. They take abundance of Pains to clear *Guiscard* from a Design against Mr. *Harley's* Life : but offer not one Argument to clear their other Friends, who, in the Business of *Greg*, were equally guilty of the same Design against the same Person ; whose Tongues were very Swords, and whose Penknives were Axes.

T H E

THE
EXAMINER.

NUMBER XXXIV.

Thursday, March 29, 1711.

— *Sunt hic etiam sua præmia laudi ;
Sunt lachrymæ rerum, & mentem mortalia tangunt.*

I BEGIN to be heartily weary of my Employment as *Examiner*: which I wish the Ministry would consider with half so much Concern as I do, and assign me some other with less Pains, and a Pension. There may soon be a Vacancy, either on the Bench, in the Revenue, or the Army, and I am equally qualified for each ; but this Trade of *examining*, I apprehend, may, at one Time or other, grow near to sour my Temper. I did lately propose that some of those *ingenious* Pens, which are engaged on the other Side, might be employed to succeed me ; and I undertook to bring them over for t'*other Crown*: But it was answered, that those Gentlemen do much better Service in the Stations where they are. It was added, that Abundance of Abuses yet remained

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to be laid open to the World, which I had often promised to do, but was too much diverted by other Subjects that came into my Head. On the other Side, the Advice of some Friends, and the Threats of many Enemies, have put me upon considering what would become of me, if *Times should alter*: This I have done very maturely, and the Result is, that I am in no manner of Pain. I grant, that what I have said, upon Occasion, concerning the late Men, in Power, may be called Satyr by some unthinking People, as long as that Faction is down; but, if ever they come into Play again, I must give them warning beforehand, that I shall expect to be a *Favourite*, and that those pretended Advocates of theirs will be pilloried for *Libellers*. For, I appeal to any Man, whether I have charged that Party, or its Leaders, with one single Action or Design, which (if we may judge by their former Practices) they will not openly profess, be proud of, and score up for Merit, when they come again to the Head of Affairs? I said, they were insolent to the QUEEN: Will they not value themselves upon that, as an Argument to prove them bold Assertors of the People's Liberty? I affirmed, they were against a Peace: Will they be angry with me for setting forth the Refinements of their Politicks, in pursuing the only Method left to preserve them in Power? I said, they had involved the Nation in Debts, and engrossed much of its Money: They go beyond me, and boast they have got it *all*, and the *Credit* too. I have urged the Probability of their intending great Alterations in Religion and Government: If they destroy both at their next Coming, will they not reckon my foretelling it rather as a Panegyrick than an Affront? I said, they had

had formerly a Design against Mr. *Harley's* Life^a. If they were now in Power, would they not immediately cut off his Head, and thank me for justifying the Sincerity of their Intentions? In short, there is nothing I ever said of those worthy Patriots which may not be as well excused: Therefore, as soon as they resume their Places, I positively design to put in my Claim; and, I think, may do it with a much better Grace than many of that Party, who now make their Court to the present Ministry. I know two or three great Men, at whose Levees you may daily observe a Score of the most forward Faces, which every body is ashamed of, except those who wear them. But, I conceive, my Pretensions will be upon a very different foot. Let me offer a parallel Case: Suppose King *Charles* the First had entirely subdued the Rebels at *Naseby*, and reduced the Kingdom to his Obedience; whoever had gone about to reason, from the former Conduct of those *Saints*, that if the Victory had fallen on their Side, they would have murdered their Prince. destroyed Monarchy and the Church, and made the King's Party compound for their Estates as Delinquents; would have been called a false, uncharitable Libeller, by those very Persons, who afterwards gloried in all this, and called it the *Work of the Lord*, when they happened to succeed. I remember there was a Person fined and imprisoned for *Scandalum Magnatum*, because he said the Duke of *York* was a *Papist*: But when that Prince came to be King, and made open Profession of his Religion, he had the Justice immediately to release his Prisoner, who, in his Opinion, had put a compliment upon him, and not a Reproach: And, therefore, Colonel

^a See the *Examiner*, N^o. xxxii.

Titus who had warmly asserted the same Thing in Parliament, was made a Privy Counsellor.

By this Rule, if that which, for some politick Reasons, is now called Scandal upon the late Ministry, proves, one Day, to be only an Abstract of such a Character as they will assume and be proud of; I think I may fairly offer my Pretensions, and hope their Favour: And I am the more confirmed in this Notion by what I have observed in those Papers, that come out Weekly against the *Examiner*. The Authors are perpetually telling me of my Ingratitude to my Masters; that I *blunder*, and betray the Cause; and write with more Bitterness against those who hire me, than against the *Whigs*. Now I took all this, at first, only for so many Strains of Wit, and pretty Paradoxes to divert the Reader; but, upon further thinking, I find they are serious. I imagined I had complimented the present Ministry for their dutiful Behaviour to the QUEEN, for their Love of the old Constitution in Church and State, for their Generosity and Justice, and for their Desire of a speedy, honourable Peace: But, it seems, I am mistaken, and they reckon all this for Satyr, because it is directly contrary to the Practice of all those whom they set up to defend, and utterly against all their Notions of a good Ministry. Therefore I cannot but think they have Reason on their Side: For, suppose I should write the Character of an honest, a religious, and a learned Man, and send the first to *Newgate*, the second to the *Grecian Coffee-House*, and the last to *White's*; would they not all pass for Satyrs, and justly enough, among the Companies to whom they were sent?

HAVING, therefore, employed several Papers in such sort of *Panegyrics*, and but very few on what they understand to be *Satyrs*; I shall henceforth, upon Occasion, be more liberal of the latter; of

which they are like to have a Taste in the Remainder of this present Paper.

AMONG all the Advantages which the Kingdom hath received by the late Change of Ministry, the greatest must be allowed to be the Calling of the present Parliament, upon the Dissolution of the last. It is acknowledged that this excellent Assembly hath entirely recovered the Honour of Parliaments, which had been unhappily prostituted for some Years past by the factious Proceedings of an unnatural Majority, in Concert with a most corrupt Administration. It is plain, by the present Choice of Members, that the Electors of *England*, when left to themselves, do rightly understand their true Interest. The moderate *Whigs* begin to be convinced, that we have been all this while in wrong Hands, and that Things are now as they should be. And, as the present House of Commons is the best Representative of the Nation that hath ever been summoned in our Memories, so they have taken care, in their first Session, by that noble Bill of *Qualification*, that future Parliaments should be composed of Landed Men; and our Properties lie no more at the Mercy of those who have none themselves, or at most, only what is transient or imaginary. If there be any Gratitude in Posterity, the Memory of this Assembly will be always celebrated; or if otherwise, at least we, who share in the Blessings they derive to us, ought, with grateful Hearts, to acknowledge them.

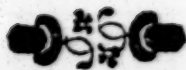
I DESIGN, in some following Papers, to draw up a List (for I can do no more) of the great Things this Parliament hath already performed; the many Abuses they have detected; their Justice in deciding Elections, without Regard to Party; their Chearfulness and Address in raising Supplies for the War, and at the same Time providing for the Nation's Debts;

Debts; their Duty to the QUEEN, and their Kindness to the Church. In the mean Time I cannot forbear mentioning two Particulars, which, in my Opinion, do discover, in some Measure, the Temper of the present Parliament, and bear Analogy to those Passages related by *Plutarch*, in the Lives of certain great Men; which, as himself observeth, *although they be not of Actions which make any great Noise or Figure in History, yet give more Light into the Characters of Persons, than we could receive from an Account of their most renowned Achievements.*

SOMETHING like this may be observed from two late Instances of *Decency* and *Good Nature* in that illustrious Assembly I was speaking of. The first was when after that inhuman Attempt upon Mr. *Harley*, they were pleased to vote an Address to the QUEEN wherein they express their utmost Detestation of the Fact, their high Esteem and great Concern for that able Minister, and justly impute his Misfortunes to that Zeal for her Majesty's Service, which had *drawn upon him the Hatred of all the Abettors of Popery, and Faction.* I dare affirm, that so distinguishing a Mark of Honour and Good Will from such a Parliament was more acceptable to a Person of Mr. *Harley's* generous Nature, than the most *bountiful Grant* that was ever yet made to a Subject; as her Majesty's Answer, filled with gracious Expressions in his Favour, adds more to his *real Glory*, than any *Titles* she could bestow. The Prince and Representatives of the whole Kingdom join in their Concern for so important a Life: These are the true Rewards of Virtue; and this is the Commerce between noble Spirits in a Coin the *Giver* knows how to bestow, and the *Receiver* how to value, although neither *Avarice* nor *Ambition* would be able to comprehend its Worth.

THE other Instance I intend to produce, of *Decency* and *Good Nature* in the present House of Commons, relates to their most worthy Speaker; who having unfortunately lost his eldest Son, the Assembly, moved with a generous Pity for so sensible an Affliction, adjourned themselves for a Week, that so good a Servant of the Publick might have some Interval to wipe away a Father's Tears. And, indeed, that Gentleman hath too just an Occasion for his Grief by the Death of a Son, who had already acquired so great a Reputation for every amiable Quality, and who might have lived to be so great an Honour and an Ornament to his ancient Family.

BEFORE I conclude, I must desire one Favour of the Reader; that when he thinks it worth his while to peruse any Paper writ against the *Examiner*, he will not form his Judgment by any mangled Quotation out of it, which he finds in such Papers, but be so just to read the Paragraph referred to; which, I am confident, will be found a sufficient Answer to all that ever those Papers can object: At least, I have seen above fifty of them, and never yet observed one single Quotation transcribed with common Candour.



T H E
E X A M I N E R.

N U M B E R X X X V .

Thursday, April 5, 1711.

Nullo suo peccato impediuntur, quo minus alterius peccata demonstrare possint.

I HAVE been considering the old Constitution of this Kingdom; comparing it with the Monarchies and Republicks whereof we meet so many Accounts in ancient Story, and with those at present in most Parts of *Europe*. I have considered our Religion, established here by the Legislature soon after the Reformation. I have likewise examined the Genius and Disposition of the People, under that reasonable Freedom they possess. Then I have turned my Reflections upon those two great Divisions of *Whig* and *Tory* (which, some Way or other, take in the whole Kingdom) with the Principles they both profess, as well as those wherewith they reproach one another. From all this I endeavour to determine from which Side her present Majesty may reasonably hope for most Security to her Person and Government; and to

which she ought, in Prudence, to trust the Administration of her Affairs. If these two Rivals were really no more than *Parties*, according to the common Acceptation of the Word, I should agree with those Politicians, who think a Prince descendeth from his Dignity, by putting himself at the Head of either; and that his wisest Course is to keep them in a Balance; raising or depressing either, as it best suited with his Designs. But when the visible Interest of his Crown and Kingdom lies on one Side; and when the other is but a *Faction*, raised and strengthened by Incidents and Intrigues, and by deceiving the People with false Representations of Things; he ought, in Prudence, to take the first Opportunity of opening his Subjects Eyes, and declaring himself in favour of those who are for preserving the Civil and Religious Rights of the Nation, wherewith his own are so interwoven.

THIS was certainly our Case: For I do not take the Heads, Advocates, and Followers of the *Whigs* to make up, strictly speaking, a *National Party*; being patched up of heterogeneous, inconsistent Parts, whom nothing served to unite, but the common Interest of sharing in the Spoil and Plunder of the People; their present Dread of their Adversaries, by whom they apprehended to be called to an Account, and that general Conspiracy of endeavouring to overturn the Church and State; which, however, if they could have compassed, they would certainly have fallen out among themselves, and broke in Pieces, as *their Predecessors* did, after they destroyed the Monarchy and Religion. For, how could a *Whig*, who is against all Discipline, agree with a *Presbyterian*, who carries it higher than the *Papists* themselves? How could a *Socinian* adjust his Models to either? or, how could any of these cement with a
Disst,

Deist, or *Free-thinker*, when they came to consult upon Points of Faith? Neither would they have agreed better in their Systems of Government; where some would have been for a King, under the Limitations of a Duke of *Venice*; others for a *Dutch* Republick; a third Party for an *Aristocracy*; and most of them all for some new Fabrick of their own contriving.

BUT, however, let us consider them as a *Party*, and under those general Tenets wherein they agreed, and which they publickly owned, without charging them with any that they pretend to deny. Then, let us *examine* those Principles of the *Tories*, which their Adversaries allow them to profess, and do not pretend to tax them with any Actions contrary to those Professions: After which, let the Reader judge from which of these two Parties a Prince hath most to fear; and whether her Majesty did not consider the Ease, the Safety, and Dignity of her Person, the Security of her Crown, and Transmission of Monarchy to her Protestant Successors, when she put her Affairs into the present Hands.

SUPPOSE the Matter were now entire; the QUEEN to make her Choice; and, for that End, should order the Principles on both Sides to be fairly laid before her. First, I conceive, the *Whigs* would grant, that they have naturally no great Veneration for *crowned Heads*; that they allow the Person of the Prince may, upon many Occasions, be resisted by Arms; and that they do not condemn the War raised against King *Charles* the First, or own it to be a Rebellion, although they would be thought to blame his Murder. They do not think the *Prerogative* to be yet sufficiently limited; and have, therefore, taken Care (as a particular Mark of their Veneration for the illustrious House of *Hanover*) to clip it still

closer against the next Reign; which, consequently, they would be glad to see done in the present: Not to mention, that the Majority of them, if it were put to the Vote, would allow that they prefer a Commonwealth before a Monarchy. As to *Religion*; their universal, undisputed Maxim is, that it ought to make no Distinction at all among *Protestants*; and in the Word *Protestant* they include every body who is not a *Papist*, and who will, by an Oath, give Security to the Government. Union in Discipline and Doctrine, the offensive Sin of Schism, the Notion of a Church and a Hierarchy, they laugh at as Foppery, Cant, and *Priestcraft*. They see no Necessity at all that there should be a National Faith; and what we usually call by that Name, they only style the *Religion of the Magistrate*. Since the Dissenters and we agree in the main, why should the Difference of a few speculative Points, or Modes of Dress, incapacitate them from serving their Prince and Country, in a Juncture when we ought to have all Hands up against the common Enemy? And, why should they be forced to take the Sacrament from our Clergy's Hands, and in our Posture; or, indeed, why compelled to receive at all, when they take an Employment which has nothing to do with Religion?

THESE are the Notions which most of that Party avow, and which they do not endeavour to disguise or set off with false Colours, or complain of being misrepresented about. I have here placed them, on Purpose, in the same Light which themselves do, in the very Apologies they make for what we accuse them of; and how inviting even these Doctrines are, for such a Monarch to close with, as our Law, both Statute and Common, understands a King of *England* to be, let others decide. But then, if to these we should add other Opinions, which most of their own

Writers justify, and which their universal Practice hath given a Sanction to; they are no more than what a Prince might reasonably expect, as the natural Consequence of those avowed Principles. For when such Persons are at the Head of Affairs, the low Opinion they have of Princes will certainly lead them to violate that Respect they ought to bear; and, at the same Time, their own Want of Duty to their Sovereign is largely made up, by exacting greater Submissions to themselves from their FellowSubjects: It being indisputably true, that the same Principle of Pride and Ambition makes a Man treat his Equals with Insolence, in the same Proportion as he affronts his Superiors; as both Prince and People have sufficiently felt from the late Ministry.

THEN, from their confessed Notions of Religion, as above related, I see no Reason to wonder, why they countenanced not only all Sorts of Dissenters, but the several *Gradations* of *Freethinkers* among us (all which are openly enrolled in their Party;) nor why they were so very averse from the present established Form of Worship, which, by prescribing Obedience to Princes from the Topick of Conscience, would be sure to thwart all their Schemes of Innovation.

ONE Thing I might add, as another acknowledged Maxim in that Party, and, in my Opinion, as dangerous to the Constitution as any I have mentioned; I mean, that of preferring, on all Occasions, the *money'd* Interest before the *landed*; which they were so far from denying, that they would gravely debate the Reasonableness and Justice of it; and, at the Rate they went on, might, in a little Time, have found a Majority of Representatives, fitly qualified to lay those heavy Burdens on the rest of the Nation, which themselves would not touch with one of their Fingers.

HOWEVER,

HOWEVER, to deal impartially, there are some Motives which might compel a Prince, under the Necessity of Affairs, to deliver himself over to that Party. They were said to possess the great Bulk of Cash, and, consequently, of Credit in the Nation; and the Heads of them had the Reputation of presiding over those Societies, who have the great Direction of both: So that all Applications for Loans to the publick Service, upon any Emergency, must be made through them; and it might prove highly dangerous to disoblige them; because, in that Case, it was not to be doubted that they would be obstinate and malicious, ready to obstruct all Affairs, not only by shutting their own Purfes, but by endeavouring to sink *Credit*, although with some present imaginary Loss to themselves, only to shew it was a *Creature* of their own.

FROM this Summary of *Whig Principles* and Dispositions, we find what a Prince may reasonably fear and hope from that Party. Let us now very briefly consider the Doctrines of the *Tories*, which their Adversaries will not dispute. As they prefer a well regulated Monarchy before all other Forms of Government, so they think it next to impossible to alter that Institution here, without involving our whole Island in Blood and Desolation. They believe that the Prerogative of a Sovereign ought, at least, to be held as sacred and inviolable as the Rights of his People; if only for this Reason, That without a due Share of Power, he will not be able to protect them. They think, that by many known Laws of this Realm, both Statute and Common, neither the Person, nor lawful Authority of the Prince ought, upon any Pretence whatsoever, to be resisted or disobeyed. Their Sentiments in relation to the Church are known enough, and will not be controverted,

verted, being just the reverse to what I have delivered as the Doctrine and Practice of the *Whigs* upon that Article.

BUT here I must likewise deal impartially too; and add one Principle as a Characteristick of the *Tories*, which hath much discouraged some Princes from making use of them in Affairs. Give the *Whigs* but Power enough to insult their Sovereign, engross his Favours to themselves, and to oppress and plunder their Fellow-subjects; they presently grow into good Humour and good Language towards the Crown; profess they will stand by it with their Lives and Fortunes; and whatever Rudenesses they may be guilty of in private, yet they assure the World that there never was so gracious a Monarch. But, to the Shame of the *Tories*, it must be confessed that nothing of all this hath been ever observed in them; in, or out of Favour, you see no Alteration, farther than a little Chearfulness or Cloud in their Countenances: The highest Employments can add nothing to their Loyalty; but their Behaviour to their Prince, as well as their Expressions of Love and Duty, are in all Conditions exactly the same.

HAVING thus, impartially, stated the avowed Principle of *Whig* and *Tory*; let the Reader determine, as he pleaseth, to which of these two a wise Prince may, with most Safety to himself and the Publick, trust his Person and his Affairs; and whether it were Rashness or Prudence in her Majesty to make those Changes in the Ministry, which have been so highly extolled by some, and condemned by others.

THE

THE
EXAMINER.

NUMBER XXXVI.

Thursday, April 12, 1711.

*Tres species tam diffimiles, tria talia texta,
Una dies dedit exitio—*

I WRITE this Paper for the Sake of the *Dissenters*, whom I take to be the most spreading Branch of the *Whig Party*, that *professeth Christianity*; and the only one that seems to be zealous for any particular System of it; the Bulk of those we call the *Low Church* being generally indifferent and undetermined in that Point; and the other Subdivisions having not yet taken either the Old or New Testament into their Scheme. By the *Dissenters*, therefore, it will easily be understood that I mean the *Presbyterians*, as they include the Sects of *Anabaptists*, *Independents*, and others which have been melted down into them since the *Restoration*. This Sect, in order to make itself National, having gone so far as to raise a Rebellion, murder their King, destroy Monarchy

narchy and the Church; was afterwards broken in Pieces by its own Divisions, which made way for the King's Return from his Exile. However the Zealous among them did still entertain Hope of recovering the *Dominion of Grace*; whereof I have read a remarkable Passage in a Book published about the Year 1661, and written by one of their own Side: As one of the Regicides was going to his Execution, a Friend asked him, *Whether he thought the Cause would revive?* He answered, *The Cause is in the Bosom of Christ; and as sure as Christ rose from the Dead, so sure will the Cause rise also.* And, therefore, the *Nonconformists* were strictly watched, and restrained by penal Laws, during the Reign of King Charles the Second; the Court and Kingdom looking on them as a *Faction*, ready to join in any Design against the Government, in Church or State. And surely this was reasonable enough, while so many continued alive who had voted, and fought, and preached against both, and gave no Proof that they had changed their Principles. The *Nonconformists* were then exactly upon the same Foot with our *Nonjurors* now, whom we double tax, forbid their Conventicles, and keep under Hatches, without thinking ourselves possessed with a persecuting Spirit; because we know they want nothing but the Power to ruin us. This, in my Opinion, should altogether silence the *Dissenters* Complaints of Persecution under King Charles the Second; or make them shew us wherein they differed, at that Time, from what our *Jacobites* are now.

THEIR Inclinations to the Church were soon discovered, when King James the Second succeeded to the Crown, with whom they unanimously joined in its Ruin, to revenge themselves for that Restraint they had

had more justly suffered in the foregoing Reign; not from the persecuting Temper of the Clergy, as their Clamours would suggest, but the Prudence and Caution of the Legislature. The same Indulgence against Law was made use of by them and the *Papists*; and they amicably employed their Power, as in Defence of one common Interest.

BUT the Revolution happening soon after, served to wash away the Memory of the Rebellion; upon which, the Run against *Popery* was, no doubt, as just and seasonable, as that of *Fanaticism* after the Restoration; and the Dread of *Popery* being then our latest Danger, and consequently the most fresh upon our Spirits, all Mouths were open against that; the *Dissenters* were rewarded with an Indulgence by Law: The Rebellion and King's Murder were now no longer a Reproach; the former was only a civil War, and whoever durst call it a *Rebellion* was a *Jacobite* and *Friend to France*. This was the more unexpected, because the Revolution being wholly brought about by Church of *England* Hands, they hoped one good Consequence of it would be the relieving us from the Encroachments of *Dissenters*, as well as those of *Papists*; since both had equally confederated towards our Ruin: And, therefore, when the Crown was new settled, it was hoped, at least, that the rest of the Constitution would be restored. But this Affair took a very different Turn: The *Dissenters* had just made Shift to save a Tide, and join with the Prince of *Orange*, when they found all was desperate with their *Protector* King *James*; and observing a Party then forming against the old Principles in Church and State, under the Name of *Whigs* and *Low-churchmen*, they listed themselves into it, where they have ever since continued.

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IT is therefore, upon the foot they now are, that I would apply myself to them, and desire they would consider the different Circumstances at present, from what they were under, when they began their Designs against the Church and Monarchy, about seventy Years ago. At that Juncture they made up the Body of the Party; and whosoever joined with them from Principles of Revenge, Discontent, Ambition, or Love of Change, were all forced to shelter under their Denomination; united heartily in the Pretences of a further and purer Reformation in Religion, and of advancing the *great Work* (as the *Cant* was then) *that God was about to do in these Nations*; received the Systems of Doctrine and Discipline prescribed by the *Scots*, and readily took the *Covenant*; so that there appeared no Division among them, 'till after the common Enemy was subdued.

BUT now their Case is quite otherwise; and I can hardly think it worth being of a *Party*, upon the Terms they have been received of late Years. For suppose the whole *Faction* should at length succeed in their Design of destroying the Church; are they so weak to imagine, that the new modelling of Religion would be put into their Hands? Would their Brethren, the *Low-churchmen* and *Free-thinkers*, submit to their *Discipline*, their *Synods*, or their *Classes*; and divide the Lands of Bishops, or Deans and Chapters, among them? How can they help observing, that their Allies, instead of pretending more Sanctity than other Men, are some of them for levelling all Religion; and the rest for abolishing it? Is it not manifest, that they have been treated by their Confederates exactly after the same Manner as they were by King *James* the Second; made Instruments to ruin the Church; not for their own Sakes, but under a pretended Pro-
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ject of universal Freedom in Opinion, to advance dark Designs of those who employ them? For, excepting the *Antimonarchical Principle*, and a few false Notions of *Liberty*, I see but little Agreement betwixt them; and even in these, I believe, it would be impossible to contrive a Frame of Government that would please them all, if they had it now in their Power to try. But, however, to be sure, the *Presbyterian* Institution would never obtain. For, suppose they should, in Imitation of their Predecessors, propose to have no King but our Saviour CHRIST; the whole Clan of *Free-thinkers* would immediately object, and refuse his Authority. Neither would their *Low-church* Brethren use them better, as well knowing what Enemies they are to that Doctrine of unlimited Toleration, wherever they are suffered to preside. So that, upon the whole, I do not see, as their present Circumstances stand, where the *Dissenters* can find better Quarter than from the Church of *England*.

BESIDES, I leave it to their Consideration, whether, with all their Zeal against the Church, they ought not to shew a little Decency; and how far it consists with their Reputation to act in concert with such Confederates. It was reckoned a very infamous Proceeding in the present *Most Christian King* to assist the *Turk* against the *Emperor*; Policy and Reasons of State were not allowed sufficient Excuses for taking Part with an *Infidel* against a *Believer*. It is one of the *Dissenters* Quarrels against the Church, that she is not enough reformed from *Papery*: yet they boldly entered into a League with *Papists* and a *Popish Prince*, to destroy her. They profess much Sanctity, and object against the wicked Lives of some of our Members; yet they have been long, and
still

still continue, in strict Combination with *Libertines* and *Atheists*, to contrive our Ruin. What if the *Jews* should multiply, and become a formidable Party among us? Would the *Dissenters* join with them likewise, because they agree already in some general Principles, and because the *Jews* are allowed to be a *stiff-necked and rebellious People*?

It is the Part of wise Men to conceal their Passions when they are not in Circumstances of exerting them to Purpose. The Arts of getting Power, and preserving Indulgence, are very different. For the former, the reasonable Hopes of the *Dissenters* seem to be at an End; their Comrades, the *Whigs* and *Free-thinkers*, are just in a Condition proper to be forsaken: and the Parliament, as well as the Body of the People, will be deluded no longer. Besides, it sometimes happens for a Cause to be exhausted and worn out, as that of the *Whigs* in general seems at present to be: The Nation hath felt enough of it. It is as vain to hope restoring that decayed Interest, as for a Man of Sixty to talk of entering on a new Scene of Life, that is not proper for Youth and Vigour. New Circumstances and new Men must arise, as well as new Occasions; which are not like to happen in our Time. So that the *Dissenters* have no Game left, at present, but to secure their *Indulgence*. In order to which, I will be so bold to offer them some Advice.

FIRST, That until some late Proceedings be a little forgot, they would take Care not to provoke, by any Violence of Tongue or Pen, so great a Majority as there is now against them; nor keep up, any longer, that Combination with their broken Allies; but disperse themselves, and lie dormant against some better Opportunity. I have shewn they could

have got no Advantage, if the late Party had prevailed ; and they will certainly lose none by its Fall, unless through its own Fault. They pretend a mighty Veneration for the QUEEN ; let them give Proof of it, by quitting the ruined Interest of those who have used her so ill ; and by a due Respect to the Persons she is pleased to trust at present with her Affairs. When they can no longer hope to govern, when struggling can do no good, and may possibly hurt them ; what is left, but to be silent and passive ?

SECONDLY, Although there be no Law (besides that of God Almighty) against *occasional Conformity*; it would be Prudence in the *Dissenters* to use it as tenderly as they can : For, besides the infamous Hypocrisy of the Thing itself, too frequent Practice would, perhaps, make a Remedy necessary. And, after all they have said to justify themselves in this Point, it still continues hard to conceive how those Consciences can pretend to be scrupulous, upon which an Employment hath more Power than the Love of Unity.

IN the last Place, I am humbly of Opinion, That the *Dissenters* would do well to drop that *Lesson* they have learned from their Directors, of affecting to be under horrible Apprehensions, that the *Tories* are in the Interests of the *Pretender*, and would be ready to embrace the first Opportunity of inviting him over. It is with the worst Grace in the World that they offer to join in the Cry upon this Article : As if those, who *alone* stood in the Gap against all the Encroachments of *Popery* and *Arbitrary Power*, are not more likely to keep out both, than a Set of *Schismatics*, who, to gratify their Ambition and Revenge, did, by the meanest Compliances, encourage and spirit up that unfortunate Prince to fall upon such

Measures

Measures, as must at last have ended in the Ruin of our Liberty and Religion.

P. S. I WISH those who give themselves the trouble to write to the *Examiner*, would consider whether what they send be proper for such a Paper to take Notice of. I had one Letter last Week, written, as I suppose, by a Divine, to desire I would offer some Reasons against a Bill now before the Parliament, for *Ascertainning the Tythe of Hops*; from which the Writer apprehends great Damage to the Clergy, especially the poorer *Vicars*. If it be as he says (and he seems to argue very reasonably upon it) the *Convocation*, now sitting, will, no doubt, upon due Application, represent the Matter to the House of Commons; and he may expect all Justice and Favour from that *great Body*, who have already appeared so tender of their *Rights*.

A Gentleman, likewise, who hath sent me several Letters, relating to personal Hardships he received from some of the late Ministry, is advised to publish a Narrative of them, they being too large, and not proper for this Paper.





THE
EXAMINER.

NUMBER XXXVII.

Thursday, April 10, 1711.

*Semper causæ eventorum magis movent quam ipsa
eventa.*

I Am glad to observe that several among the Whigs have begun very much to change their Language of late. The Style is now among the reasonable Part of them, when they meet a Man in Business, or a Member of Parliament; *Well, Gentlemen, if you go on as you have hitherto done, we shall no longer have any Pretence to complain.* They find, it seems, that there have been yet no Overtures made to bring in the Pretender, nor any preparatory Steps towards it. They read no enslaving Votes, nor Bills brought in to endanger the Subject. The Indulgence to scrupulous Consciences is again confirmed from the Throne, inviolably preserved, and not the least Whisper offered that may affect it. All Care is taken to support the War; Supplies cheerfully granted, and Funds

Funds readily subscribed to, in spite of the little Arts made use of to discredit them. The just Resentments of some, which are laudable in themselves, and which at another Juncture it might be proper to give way to, have been softened or diverted by the Calmness of others. So that upon the Article of present Management, I do not see how any Objection of Weight can well be raised.

HOWEVER, our Adversaries still alledge, that this great Success was wholly unexpected, and out of all probable View. That, in publick Affairs, we ought, least of all others, to judge by Events; that the Attempt of changing a Ministry, during the Difficulties of a long War, was rash and inconsiderate; that if the QUEEN were disposed by her Inclinations, or from any personal Dislike, for such a Change, it might have been done with more Safety in a Time of Peace; that if it had miscarried by any of those Incidents, which, in all Appearance, might have intervened, the Consequences would, perhaps, have ruined the whole Confederacy: And therefore, however it hath now succeeded, the Experiment was too dangerous to try.

BUT this is what we can by no means allow them. We never will admit Rashness, or Chance, to have produced all this Harmony and Order. It is visible to the World, that the several Steps towards this Change were slowly taken, and with the utmost Caution. The *Movers* observed, as they went on, how Matters would bear; and advanced no farther, at first, than so as they might be able to stop, or go back, if Circumstances were not mature. Things were grown to such a Height, that it was no longer the Question, whether a Person, who aimed at an Employment, were a *Whig* or *Tory*; much less whe-

ther he had Merit, or proper Abilities, for what he pretended to : He must owe his Preferment only to the Favourites ; and the Crown was so far from *nominating*, that they would not allow it a *Negative*. This the QUEEN was resolved no longer to endure ; and began to break into their *Prescription*, by bestowing one or two Places of Consequence, without consulting her *Ephori*, after they had fixed them for others, and concluded, as usually, that all their Business was to signify their Pleasure to her Majesty. But although the Persons the QUEEN had chosen were such as no Objection could well be raised against, upon the Score of Party, yet the *Oligarchy* took the Alarm ; their Sovereign Authority was, it seems, called in Question ; they grew into Anger and Discontent, as if their undoubted Rights were violated. All former Obligations to their Sovereign now became cancelled ; and they put themselves upon the foot of People who are hardly used after the most eminent Services.

I BELIEVE all Men, who know any thing in Politicks, will agree, that a Prince thus treated by those he hath most confided in, and perpetually loaded with his Favours, ought to extricate himself as soon as possible ; and is then only blameable in his Choice of Time, when he defers one Minute after it is in his Power ; because, from the monstrous Encroachments of exorbitant Avarice and Ambition, he cannot tell how long it may continue to be so. And it will be found, upon enquiring into History, that most of those Princes, who have been ruined by Favourites, have owed their Misfortune to the Neglect of earlier Remedies ; deferring to struggle, until they were quite sunk.

THE *Whigs* are every Day cursing the ungovernable Rage, the haughty Pride, and insatiable Covetousness of a *certain Person*, as the Cause of their Fall; and are apt to tell their Thoughts, that *one single Removal* might have set all Things right. But the Interests of that *single Person* were found, upon Experience, so complicated and woven with the rest, by *Love*, by *Awe*, by *Marriage*, by *Alliance*; that they would rather confound Heaven and Earth, than dissolve such an Union.

I HAVE always heard and understood, that a King of *England*, possessed of his Peoples, Hearts, at the Head of a free Parliament, and in full Agreement with a great Majority, made the true Figure in the World that such a Monarch ought to do; and pursued the real Interest of himself and his Kingdom. Will they allow her Majesty to be in those Circumstances at present? And was it not plain by the Addresses sent from all Parts of the Island, and by the visible Disposition of the People, that such a Parliament would undoubtedly be chosen? And so it proved, without the Court's using any Arts to influence Elections.

WHAT People then are these in a Corner, to whom the Constitution must truckle? If the whole Nation's Credit cannot supply Funds for the War, without humble Application from the entire Legislature to a few *Retailers* of Money, it is high Time we should sue for a Peace. What new Maxims are these, which neither we nor our Forefathers ever heard of before, and which no wise Institution would ever allow? must our Laws, from henceforward, pass the *Bank* and *East-India* Company, or have their *Royal Assent* before they are in force?

To hear some of these worthy Reasoners talking of *Credit*, that she is so nice, so squeamish, so capricious, you would think they were describing a Lady troubled with the Vapours; or the Colick, to be removed only by a *Course of Steel*, or *swallowing a Bullet*. By the Narrowness of their Thoughts one would imagine they conceived the World to be no wider than *Exchange Alley*. It is probable they may have such a sickly Dame among them; and it is well if she hath no worse Diseases, considering what Hands she passes through. But the *national Credit* is of another Complexion; of sound Health, and an even Temper; her Life and Existence being a Quintessence drawn from the Vitals of the whole Kingdom: And we find these *Money Politicians*, after all their Noise, to be of the same Opinion, by the Court they paid her when she lately appeared to them in the Form of a *Lottery*.

As to that mighty Error in Politicks they charge upon the *Queen*, for changing her Ministry in the Height of a War, I suppose it is only looked upon as an Error under a *Whiggish Administration*; otherwise the late King had much to answer for, who did it pretty frequently. And it is well known, that the late Ministry, of *famous Memory*, was brought in during the present War; only with this Circumstance, that two or three of the chief did first change their own Principles, and then took in suitable Companions.

BUT, however, I see no Reason why the *Tories* should not value their Wisdom by Events, as well as the *Whigs*. Nothing was ever thought a more precipitate, rash Counsel than that of *altering the Coin* at the Juncture it was done; yet the Prudence of the Undertaking was sufficiently justified by the Success.

Perhaps

Perhaps it will be said, that the Attempt was necessary, because the whole Species of Money was so grievously clipped and counterfeit: And is not her Majesty's Authority as sacred as her Coin? And hath not that been most scandalously clipped and mangled, and often counterfeited too?

It is another grievous Complaint of the *Whigs*, that their late Friends, and the whole Party, are treated with Abundance of Severity in Print, and in particular by the *Examiner*. They think it hard, that when they are wholly deprived of Power, hated by the People, and out of all Hope of re-establishing themselves, their Infirmities should be so often displayed, in order to render them yet more odious to Mankind. This is what they employ their Writers to set forth in their Papers of the Week; and it is humourfome enough to observe one Page taken up in railing at the *Examiner*, for his Invectives against a discarded Ministry, and the other Side filled with the falsest and vilest Abuses against those who are now in the highest Power and Credit with their Sovereign; and whose least Breath would scatter them into Silence, and Obscurity. However, although I have, indeed, often wondered to see so much Licentiousness taken and connived at, and am sure it would not be suffered in any other Country of *Christendom*; yet I never once invoked the Assistance of the *Gaal*, or *Pillory*, which, upon the least Provocation, was the usual Style during their Tyranny. There hath not passed a Week these twenty Years. without some malicious Paper scattered in every Coffee-house by the Emiffaries of that Party, whether it were *down* or *up*. I believe they will not pretend to object the same Thing to us: Nor do I remember any constant weekly Paper with Reflections

on

on the late Ministry, or *Junto*. They have many weak, defenceless Parts; they have not been used to a regular Attack, and therefore it is that they are so ill able to endure one, when it comes to be their Turn. So that they complain more of a few Months Truths from us, than we did of all their Lies, and Malice for twice as many Years.

I CANNOT forbear observing, upon this Occasion, that those worthy Authors I am speaking of, seem to me not fairly to represent the Sentiments of their Party; who, in disputing with us, do generally give up several of the late Ministry, and freely own many of their Failings. They confess the monstrous *Debt upon the Navy* to have been caused by most scandalous Mismanagement; they allow the *Insolence* of some, and the *Avarice* of others, to have been insupportable: But these Gentlemen are most liberal of their Praises to those Persons, and upon those very Articles, where their wisest Friends give up the Point. They gravely tell us, that *such a one* was the most faithful Servant ever any Prince had; *another* the most dutiful; a *third*, the most generous; a *fourth*, of the greatest Integrity: So that I look upon these Champions rather as retained by a *Cabal* than a *Party*; which I desire the reasonable Men among them would please to consider.

T H E
E X A M I N E R.

N U M B E R XXXVIII.

Thursday, April 26, 1711.

*Indignum est in ea civitate, quæ legibus continetur, dis-
cedi a legibus.*

I HAVE been often considering how it comes to pass, that the Dexterity of Mankind in Evil should always out-grow not only the Prudence and Caution of private Persons, but the continual Expedience of the wisest Laws contrived to prevent it. I cannot imagine a Knave to possess a greater Share of natural Wit, or Genius, than an honest Man. I have known very notable Sharpers at Play, who, upon all other Occasions, were as great Dunces as human Shape can well allow; and, I believe, the same might be observed among the other Knots of Thieves and Pick-pockets about this Town. The Proposition, however, is certainly true, and to be confirmed by an hundred Instances. A Scrivener, an Attorney, a Stockjobber, and many other *Retailers of Fraud,*
Chail.

shall not only be able to over-reach others, much wiser than themselves, but find out new Inventions to elude the Force of any Law made against them. I suppose the Reason of this may be, that, as the Aggressor is said to have generally the Advantage of the *Defender*, so the Makers of the Law, which is to defend our Rights, have usually not so much Industry, or Vigour, as those whose Interest leads them to attack it. Besides, it rarely happens that Men are rewarded by the Publick for their Justice and Virtue; neither do those, who act upon such Principles, expect any Recompence until the next World: Whereas Fraud, where it succeeds, gives present Pay; and this is allowed the greatest Spur imaginable both to Labour and Invention. When a Law is made to stop some growing Evil, the Wits of those, whose Interest it is to break it with Secrecy or Impunity, are immediately at Work; and even among those who pretend to fairer Characters, many would gladly find means to avoid what they would not be thought to violate. They desire to reap the Advantage, if possible, without the Shame, or, at least, without the Danger. This Art is what I take that dextrous Race of Men, sprung up soon after the Revolution, to have studied with great Application ever since; and to have arrived at great Perfection in it. According to the Doctrine of some *Romish* Casuists, they have found out *quam prope ad peccatum sine peccato possint accedere*; they can tell how to go within an Inch of an Impeachment, and yet come back untouched. They know what Degree of Corruption will just forfeit an Employment, and whether the Bribe you receive be sufficient to set you right, and put something in your Pocket besides: How much, to a Penny, you may safely cheat the QUEEN, whether

ther forty, fifty, or sixty *per Cent.* according to the Station you are in, and the Dispositions of the Persons in Office, below and above you. They have computed the Price you may securely take or give for a Place, or what Part of the Salary you ought to reserve: They can discreetly distribute five hundred Pounds in a small Borough, without any Danger from the Statutes against bribing Elections. They can manage a Bargain for an Office by a third, fourth, or fifth Hand; so that you shall not know whom to accuse. They can win a thousand Guineas at Play, in spite of the Dice, and send away the Loser satisfied. They can pass the most exorbitant Accounts, over-pay the Creditor with half his Demands, and sink the rest.

It would be endless to relate, or rather, indeed, impossible to discover, the several Arts which curious Men have found out to enrich themselves, by defrauding the Publick, in Defiance of the Law. The Military Men, both by Sea and Land, have equally cultivated this most useful Science: Neither hath it been altogether neglected by the other Sex; of which, on the contrary, I could produce an Instance that would make ours blush to be so far out-done.

BESIDES, to confess the Truth, our Laws themselves are extremely defective in many Articles, which I take to be one ill Effect of our best Possession, Liberty. Some Years ago the Ambassador of a great Prince was arrested, and Outrages committed on his Person in our Streets, without any Possibility of Redress from *Westminster-Hall*, or the Prerogative of the Sovereign; and the Legislature was forced to provide a Remedy against the like Evils in Time to come. A Commissioner of the stamped Paper was lately discovered

covered to have notoriously cheated the Publick of great Sums for many Years, by counterfeiting the Stamps, which the Law hath made capital : But the Aggravation of his Crime proved to be the Cause that saved his Life ; and that additional heightening Circumstance of betraying his Trust, was found to be a legal Defence. I am assured that the notorious Cheat of the Brewers at *Portsmouth*, detected about two Months ago in Parliament, cannot by any Law now in Force be punished in any Degree equal to the Guilt and Infamy of it. Nay, what is almost incredible, had *Guiscard* survived his detestable Attempt upon Mr. *Harley's* Person, all the inflaming Circumstances of the Fact would not have sufficed, in the Opinion of many Lawyers, to have punished him with Death ; and the Publick must have lain under this *Dilemma*, either to condemn him by a Law *ex post facto*, (which would have been of dangerous Consequence, and from an ignominious Precedent) or undergo the Mortification to see the greatest Villain upon Earth escape unpunished, to the infinite Triumph and Delight of *Papery* and *Faction*. But even this is not to be wondered at, when we consider that of all the Insolences offered to the QUEEN since the Act of Indemnity (at least, that ever came to my Ears) I can hardly instance above two or three, which, by the Letter of the Law, could amount to High-Treason.

FROM these Defects in our Laws, and the Want of some discretionary Power, safely lodged, to exert upon Emergencies ; as well as from the great Acquirements of able Men to elude the Penalties of those Laws they break ; it is no wonder that the Injuries done to the Publick are so seldom redressed. But, besides, no Individual suffers by any Wrong he doth

doth to the Commonwealth, in proportion to the Advantage he gains by doing it. There are seven or eight Millions who contribute to the Loss, while the whole Gain is sunk among a few. The Damage suffered by the Publick is not so immediately or heavily felt by particular Persons; and the Zeal of Prosecution is apt to drop and be lost among Numbers.

BUT, imagine a Set of Politicians for many Years at the Head of Affairs, the Game visibly their own, and, by Consequence, acting with great Security; may not these be sometimes tempted to forget their Caution, by Length of Time, by Excess of Avarice and Ambition, by the Insolence or Violence of their Nature, or, perhaps, by a mere Contempt for their Adversaries? May not such Motives as these put them often upon Actions directly against the Law, such as no Evasions can be found for, and which will lay them fully open to the Vengeance of a prevailing Interest, whenever they are out of Power? It is answered in the Affirmative. And here we cannot refuse the late Ministry their due Praises; who, foreseeing a Storm, provided for their own Safety by two admirable Expedients, by which, with great Prudence, they have escaped the Punishments due to pernicious Counsels and corrupt Management. The first was to procure, under Pretences hardly specious, a general Act of Indemnity, which cuts off all Impeachments. The second was yet more refined: Suppose, for Instance, a Counsel is to be pursued, which is necessary to carry on the dangerous Designs of a prevailing Party, to preserve them in Power, to gratify the unmeasurable Appetites of a few *Leaders*, Civil and Military, although by hazarding the Ruin of the whole Nation; this Counsel, desperate in itself, unpre-

unprecedented in its Nature, they procure a Majority to form into an Address, which makes it look like the Sense of the Nation. Under that Shelter they carry on the Work, and lie secure against After-reckonings.

I MUST be so free to tell my Meaning in this; that, among other Things, I understand it of the Address made to the QUEEN about three Years ago, to desire that her Majesty would not consent to a Peace, without the entire Restitution of *Spain*. A Proceeding, which, to People abroad, must look like the highest Strain of Temerity, Folly, and Gasconade. But we at home, who allow the Promoters of that Advice to be no Fools, can easily comprehend the Depth and Mystery of it. They were assured by this Means to pin down the War upon us; consequently to increase their own Power and Wealth and multiply Difficulties on the QUEEN and the Kingdom, until they had fixed their Party too firmly to be shaken, whenever they should find themselves disposed to reverse their Address, and give us leave to wish for a Peace.

IF any Man entertains a more favourable Opinion of this monstrous Step in Politicks, I would ask him what we must do in case we find it impossible to recover *Spain*? Those among the *Whigs* who believe a GOD will confess that the Events of War lie in his Hands: and the rest of them, who acknowledge no such Power, will allow that Fortune hath too great a Share in the good or ill Success of Military Actions to let a wise Man reason upon them as if they were entirely in his Power. If Providence shall think fit to refuse Success to our Arms; with how ill a Grace, with what Shame and Confusion shall we be obliged to recant that precipitate Address, unless the World will

will be so charitable to consider, that Parliaments among us differ as much as Princes ; and that, by the fatal Conjunction of many unhappy Circumstances, it is very possible for our Island to be represented sometimes by those who have the least Pretensions. So little Truth or Justice there is in what some pretend to advance, that the Actions of former Senates ought always to be treated with Respect by the latter ; that those Assemblies are all equally venerable, and no one to be preferred before another : By which Argument, the Parliament that began the Rebellion against King *Charles I.* voted his Trial, and appointed his Murderers, ought to be remember'd with Respect.

BUT to return from this Digression : It is very plain, that, considering the Defectiveness of our Laws, the Variety of Cases, the Weakness of the Prerogative, the Power or the Cunning of ill-designing Men, it is possible that many great Abuses may be visibly committed, which cannot be legally punished ; especially if we add to this, that some Enquiries might probably involve those, whom, upon other Accounts, it is not thought convenient to disturb. Therefore it is very false Reasoning, especially in the Management of publick Affairs, to argue that Men are innocent, because the Law hath not pronounced them guilty.

I AM apt to think it was to supply such Defects as these, that Satire was first introduced into the World ; whereby those, whom neither Religion, nor natural Virtue, nor Fear of Punishment, were able to keep within the Bounds of their Duty, might be with-held by the Shame of having their Crimes exposed to open View in the strongest Colours, and themselves rendered odious to Mankind. Perhaps all

this may be little regarded by such hardened and abandoned Natures as I have to deal with ; but, next to taming or binding a saving Animal, the best Service you can do the Neighbourhood is to give them warning either to arm themselves, or not to come in its Way.

COULD I have hoped for any Signs of Remorse from the Leaders of that Faction, I should very gladly have changed my Style, and forgot, or passed by their Millions of Enormities : But they are every Day more fond of discovering their impotent Zeal and Malice : Witness their Conduct in the City about a Fortnight ago, which had no other End imaginable, besides that of perplexing our Affairs, and endeavouring to make Things desperate, that themselves may be thought necessary. While they continue in this frantick Mood, I shall not forbear to treat them as they deserve ; that is to say, as the inveterate, irreconcilable Enemies to our Country and its Constitution.



T H E
E X A M I N E R.

N U M B E R X X X I X .

Thursday, May 3, 1711.

Quis tulerit Gracchos de seditione querentes?

THERE have been certain Topics of Reproach liberally bestowed, for some Years past, by the *Whigs* and *Tories* upon each other. We charge the former with a Design of destroying the *established Church*, and introducing *Fanaticism* and *Free-thinking* in its stead. We accuse them as Enemies to Monarchy; as endeavouring to undermine the present Form of Government, and to build a Commonwealth, or some new Scheme of their own, upon its Ruins. On the other Side, their Clamours against us may be summed up in those three formidable Words, *Popery*, *Arbitrary Power*, and the *Pretender*. Our Accusations against them we endeavour to make good by certain overt Acts; such as their perpetually abusing the whole Body of the Clergy, their declared Contempt for the very Order of Priesthood, their Aver-

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sion against Episcopacy, the publick Encouragement and Patronage they gave to *Tindal*, *Toland*, and other atheistical Writers; their appearing as professed Advocates retained by the Dissenters, excusing their Separation, and laying the Guilt of it to the Obstinacy of the Church; their frequent Endeavours to repeal the Test, and their setting up the Indulgence to scrupulous Consciences as a Point of greater Importance than the established Worship. The Regard they bear to our *Monarchy* hath appeared by their open ridiculing the *Martyrdom* of King *Charles I.* in their *Calves-Head Clubs*; their common Discourses, and their Pamphlets; their denying the unnatural War raised against that Prince to have been a Rebellion; their justifying his Murder in the allowed Papers of the Week; their Industry in publishing and spreading seditious and Republican Tracts, such as *Ludlow's Memoirs*, *Sidney of Government*, and many others; their endless lopping of the Prerogative, and mincing into nothing her Majesty's Titles to the Crown.

WHAT Proofs they bring for our endeavouring to introduce *Popery*, *Arbitrary Power*, and the *Pretender*, I cannot readily tell, and would be glad to hear: However, those important Words having, by dextrous Management, been found of mighty Service to the Cause, although applied with little Colour, either of Reason or Justice; I have been considering, whether they may not be adapted to more proper Objects.

As to *Popery*, which is the first of these; to deal plainly, I can hardly think there is any Set of Men among us, except the Professors of it, who have any direct Intention to introduce it here; but the Question is, Whether the Principles and Practices of

us,

us, or the *Whigs*, be most likely to make way for it? It is allowed on all Hands, that among the Methods concerted at *Rome*, for bringing over *England* into the Bosom of the Catholick Church, one of the chief was to send Jesuits, and other Emissaries, in Lay Habits, who, personating *Tradesmen* and *Mechanicks*, should mix with the People, and, under the Pretence of a further and purer *Reformation*, endeavour to divide us into as many Sects as possible; which would either put us under the Necessity of returning to our old Errors, to preserve *Peace* at home; or, by our *Divisions*, make way for some powerful Neighbour, with the Assistance of the *Pope's* Permission, and a consecrated Banner, to convert and enslave us at once. If this hath been reckoned good Politicks (and it was the best the *Jesuit Schools* could invent) I appeal to any Man, whether the *Whigs*, for many Years past, have not been employed in the very same Work? They professed, on all Occasions, that they knew no Reason why any one System of *speculative Opinions* (as they term the Doctrines of the Church) should be established by Law, more than another; or why Employments should be confined to the Religion of the Magistrate, and that called the *Church established*. The grand Maxim they laid down was, That no Man, for the Sake of a few *Notions* and *Ceremonies*, under the Names of *Doctrine* and *Discipline*, should be denied the Liberty of serving his Country: As if Places would go a begging, unless *Brownists*, *Familists*, *Sweet-Singers*, *Quakers*, *Anabaptists*, and *Muggletonians* would take them off our Hands.

I HAVE been sometimes imagining this Scheme brought to Perfection, and how diverting it would be to see half a dozen *Sweet-Singers* on the Bench

in their Ermines, and two or three *Quakers* with their white Staves at Court. I can only say, this Project is the very Counter-part of the late King *James's* Design, which he took up as the best Method for introducing his *own Religion*, under the Pretext of an *universal Liberty of Conscience*; and that no Difference in Religion should make any in his Favour. Accordingly, to save Appearances, he dealt some Employments among *Dissenters* of most Denominations; and what he did was, no doubt, in pursuance of the best Advice he could get at home or abroad; but the Church thought it the most dangerous Step he could take for her Destruction. It is true, King *James* admitted *Papists* among the rest, which the *Whigs* would not; but this is sufficiently made up by a material Circumstance, wherein they seem to have much outdone that Prince, and to have carried their *Liberty of Conscience* to a higher Point, having granted it to all the Classes of *Free-thinkers*, which the nice Conscience of a *popish Prince* would not give him Leave to do, and was therein mightily overseen; because it is agreed by the Learned, that there is but a very narrow Step from *Atheism* to the other Extreme, *Superstition*. So that upon the whole, whether the *Whigs* had any real Design of bringing in *Papery*, or no, it is very plain that they took the most effectual Step towards it; and if the *Jesuits* had been their immediate Directors, they could not have taught them better, nor have found apter Scholars.

THEIR second Accusation is, that we encourage and maintain arbitrary Power in Princes; and promote enslaving Doctrines among the People. This they go about to prove by Instances, producing the particular Opinions of certain Divines in King
Charles

Charles II's Reign, a Decree of *Oxford University*, and some few Writers since the *Revolution*. What they mean is the Principle of *Passive Obedience* and *Non-resistance*, which those who affirm, did, I believe, never intend should include *Arbitrary Power*. However, although I am sensible that it is not reckoned prudent, in a Dispute, to make any Concessions without the last Necessity ; yet I do agree, that in my own private Opinion, some Writers did carry that Tenet of *Passive Obedience* to a Height which seemed hardly consistent with the Liberties of a Country, whose Laws can neither be enacted nor repealed without the Consent of the whole People ; I mean not those who affirm it due in general, as it certainly is, to the Legislature ; but such as fix it entirely in the Prince's Person. This last hath, I believe, been done by a very few ; but when the *Whigs* quote Authors to prove it upon us, they bring in all who mention it as a Duty in general, without applying it to Princes, abstracted from their Senate.

By thus freely declaring my own Sentiments of *Passive Obedience*, it will, at last, appear that I do not write for a Party ; neither do I, upon any Occasion, pretend to speak their Sentiments, but my own. The Majority of the two Houses, and the present Ministry (if those be a Party) seem to me, in all their Proceedings, to pursue the real Interest of Church and State : and if I shall happen to differ from particular Persons among them, in a single Notion about Government, I suppose they will not, upon that Account, explode me and my Paper. However, as an Answer, once for all, to the tedious Scurrilities of those idle People, who affirm I am hired and directed what to write ; I must here inform them, that their *Censure* is an Effect of their *Principles*. The

present Ministry are under no Necessity of employing prostitute Pens ; they have no dark Designs to promote, by advancing *heterodox Opinions*.

BUT to return ; suppose two or three private Divines, under *King Charles the Second*, did a little overstrain the *Doctrine of Passive Obedience* to Princes ; some Allowance might be given to the Memory of that *unnatural Rebellion* against his Father, and the dismal Consequences of *Resistance*. It is plain, by the Proceedings of the Churchmen before and at the Revolution, that this Doctrine was never designed to introduce *arbitrary Power*.

I LOOK upon the *Whigs* and *Dissenters* to be exactly of the same political Faith : Let us therefore see what Share each of them had in advancing *arbitrary Power*. It is manifest, that the *Fanaticks* made *Cromwell* the most absolute Power in *Christendom*. The *Rump* abolished the *House of Lords*, the *Army* abolished the *Rump*, and by this *Army of Saints* he governed. The *Dissenters* took Liberty of Conscience, and Employments, from the late King *James*, as an Acknowledgment of his *dispensing Power* ; which makes the King of *England* as absolute as the *Turk*. The *Whigs*, under the late King, perpetually declared for keeping up a Standing Army in Times of Peace ; which hath, in all Ages, been the first and great Step to the Ruin of Liberty. They were, besides, discovering every Day their Inclinations to destroy the Rights of the Church, and declared their Opinion, in all Companies, against Bishops sitting in the *House of Peers* ; which was exactly copying after their Predecessors of *Forty-one*. I need not say, their real Intentions were to make the King absolute ; but whatever be the Designs of innovating Men, they usually end in Tyranny ; as we may see
by

by an hundred Examples in *Greece*, and in the later Commonwealths of *Italy* mentioned by *Machia-vel*.

IN the third Place, the *Whigs* accuse us of a Design to bring in the *Pretender*; and to give it a greater Air of Probability, they suppose the QUEEN to be a Party in this Design; which, however, is no very extraordinary Supposition in those who have advanced such singular Paradoxes concerning *Greg* and *Guiscard*. Upon this Article their Charge is general, without ever offering to produce an Instance. But, I verily think and believe, it will appear no Paradox, that, if ever he be brought in, the *Whigs* are his Men. For first, it is an undoubted Truth, that a Year or two after the *Revolution*, several Leaders of that Party had their Pardons sent them by the late King *James*; and had entered upon Measures to restore him, on account of some Disobligations they received from King *William*. Besides, I would ask, whether those who are under the greatest Ties of Gratitude to King *James*, are not, at this Day, become the most zealous *Whigs*? And of what Party those are now; who kept a long Correspondence with *St. Germain*?

IT is likewise very observable of late, that the *Whigs*, upon all Occasions, profess their Belief of the *Pretender*'s being no *Impostor*, but a real *Prince*, born of the late Queen's Body; which, whether it be true or false, is very unseasonably advanced, considering the Weight such an Opinion must have with the Vulgar, if they once thoroughly believe it. Neither is it at all improbable, that the *Pretender* himself puts his chief Hopes in the Friendship he expects from the *Dissenters* and *Whigs*, by his Choice to invade the Kingdom when the latter were most in Credit;

Credit; and he had Reason to count upon the former, from the gracious Treatment they received from his supposed Father, and their joyful Acceptance of it. But further, what could be more consistent with the *Whiggish* Notion of a *Revolution-Principle*, than to bring in the *Pretender*? A *Revolution-Principle*, as their Writings and Discourses have taught us to define it, is a Principle perpetually disposing Men to *Revolutions*: And this is suitable to the famous Saying of a great *Whig*, *That the more Revolutions the better*; which, how odd a Maxim soever in Appearance, I take to be the true Characteristick of the Party.

A Dog loves to turn round often; yet, after certain *Revolutions*, he lies down to rest: But Heads, under the Dominion of the *Moon*, are for perpetual *Changes*, and perpetual *Revolutions*: Besides, the *Whigs* owe all their Wealth to *Wars* and *Revolutions*; like the Girl at *Bartholomew-Fair*, who gets a Penny by turning round a hundred Times with Swords in her Hands.

To conclude, the *Whigs* have a natural Faculty of bringing in *Pretenders*, and will therefore probably endeavour to bring in the great One at last. How many *Pretenders* to Wit, Honour, Nobility, Politics, have they brought in these last twenty Years? In short, they have been sometimes able to procure a Majority of *Pretenders* in Parliament; and wanted nothing to render the Work complete, except a *Pretender* at their Head.

T H E
E X A M I N E R.

N U M B E R X L.

Thursday, May 12, 1711.

Dos est magna parentium virtus.

I Took up a Paper some Days ago in a Coffee-House; and if the Correctness of the Style, and a superior Spirit in it, had not immediately undeceived me, I should have been apt to imagine I had been reading an *Examiner*. In this Paper there were several important Propositions advanced. For Instance, That “ Providence raised up Mr. *Harley* “ to be an Instrument of great Good, in a very critical “ Juncture, when it was much wanted. That his “ very Enemies acknowledge his eminent Abilities, “ and distinguishing Merit, by their unwearied and “ restless Endeavours against his Person and Reputation; That they have had an inveterate Malice against both; That he hath been wonderfully preserved from some unparalleled Attempts;” with more

more to the same Purpose. I immediately computed, by Rules of Arithmetick, that, in the last cited Words, there was something more intended than the Attempt of *Guiscard*, which, I think, can properly pass but for *One* of the *SOME*. And although I dare not pretend to guess the Author's Meaning; yet the Expression allows such a Latitude, that I would venture to hold a Wager, most Readers, both *Whig* and *Tory*, have agreed with me, that this Plural Number must, in all Probability, among other Facts take in the Business of *Greg*.

SEE now the Difference of Styles. Had I been to have told my Thoughts on this Occasion; instead of saying how *Mr. Harley* was treated by some Persons, and preserved from some unparelled Attempts, I should, with intolerable Bluntness and ill Manners, have told a formal Story, of a Committee sent to a condemned Criminal in *Newgate*, to bribe him with a Pardon, on Condition he would swear High Treason against his Master, who discovered his Correspondence, and secured his Person, when a certain grave Politician had given him Warning to make his Escape: And by this Means I should have drawn a whole Swarm of Hedge Writers, to exhaust their Catalogue of Scurrilities against me, as a Liar, and a Slanderer. But, with Submission to the Author of that fore-mentioned Paper, I think he hath carried that Expression to the utmost it will bear; for, after all this Noise, I know of but two Attempts against *Mr. Harley*, that can really be called unparelled, which are those aforesaid of *Greg* and *Guiscard*; for, as to the rest, I will engage to parallel them from the Story of *Catiline*, and others I could produce.

HOWEVER, I cannot but observe, with infinite Pleasure, that a great Part of what I have charged upon
upon

upon the late prevailing Faction, and for affirming which I have been adorned with so many decent Epithets, had been sufficiently confirmed, at several Times, by the Resolutions of one or the other House of Parliament. I may therefore now say, I hope, with good Authority, that *there have been some unparalleled Attempts against Mr. Harley*. That the late Ministry were justly to blame in some Managements, which occasioned the unfortunate Battle of *Almanza*, and the Disappointment at *Toulon*. That the Publick hath been grievously wronged by most notorious Frauds during the *Whig Administration*; that those, who advised the bringing in the *Palatines*, were Enemies to the Kingdom; that the late Managers of the Revenue have not duly passed their Accounts for a great Part of thirty five Millions, and ought not to be trusted in such Employments any more. Perhaps, in a little Time, I may venture to affirm some other Paradoxes of this kind, and produce the same Vouchers. And perhaps also, if it had not been so busy a Period, instead of one *Examiner*, the late Ministry might have had above four hundred, each of whose little Fingers would be heavier than my Loins. It makes me think of *Nep-tune's* Threat to the Winds:

Quos ego — sed motos præstat componere fluctus.

Thus, when the Sons of *Æolus* had almost sunk the Ship with the Tempests they raised, it was necessary to smoothe the Ocean, and secure the Vessel instead of pursuing the Offenders.

BUT, I observe, the general Expectation at present, instead of dwelling any longer upon Conjectures, who is to be punished for past Miscarriages, seems

seems bent upon the Rewards intended to those who have been so highly instrumental in rescuing our Constitution from its late Dangers. It is the Observation of *Tacitus*, in the Life of *Agricola*, that his eminent Services had raised a general Opinion of his being designed, by the Emperor, for *Prætor of Britain*: *Nullis in hoc suis sermonibus, sed quia par videbatur*; and then he adds, *Non semper errat Fama, aliquando & eligit*. The Judgment of a wise Prince, and the general Disposition of the People, do often point at the same Person; and sometimes the popular Wishes do even foretel the Reward intended for some superior Merit. Thus, among several deserving Persons, there are *two*, whom the publick Vogue hath in a peculiar Manner singled out, as designed very soon to receive the choicest Marks of the Royal Favour. *One* of them to be placed in a very high Station, and *both* to increase the Number of our Nobility. This, I say, is the general Conjecture; for I pretend to none, nor will be chargeable, if it be not fulfilled; since it is enough for their Honour, that the Nation thinks them worthy of the greatest Rewards.

UPON this Occasion I cannot but take Notice, that, of all the Heresies in Politicks profusely scattered by the Partisans of the *late Administration*, none ever displeased me more, or seemed to have more dangerous Consequences to *Monarchy*, than that pernicious Talent so much affected, of discovering a Contempt for *Birth, Family, and ancient Nobility*. All the threadbare Topicks of *Poets* and *Orators* were displayed, to discover to us, that *Merit* and *Virtue* were the only *Nobility*; and that the Advantages of *Blood* could not make a *Knave*, or a *Fool* either honest or wise. Most popular Commotions we
read

read of in the Histories of *Greece* and *Rome* took their Rise from unjust Quarrels to the *Nobles*; and, in the latter, the *Plebeians* Encroachments on the *Patri-cians* were the first Cause of their Ruin.

SUPPOSE there be nothing but *Opinion* in the Difference of Blood; every body knows, that *Authority* is very much founded on *Opinion*. But surely, that Difference is not wholly imaginary. The Advantages of a liberal Education, of chusing the best Companions to converse with, not being under the Necessity of practising little mean Tricks by a scanty Allowance, the enlarging of Thought, and acquiring the Knowledge of Men and Things by Travel, the Example of Ancestors inciting to great and good Actions; these are usually some of the Opportunities that fall in the Way of those who are born of what we call the better Families; and, allowing *Genius* to be equal in them and the Vulgar, the Odds are clearly on their Side. Nay, we may observe in some who, by the Appearance of Merit, or Favour or Fortune, have risen to great Stations from an obscure Birth, that they have still retained some sordid Vices of their *Parentage* or *Education*, either *insatiable Avarice*, or *ignominious Falshood* and *Corruption*.

To say the Truth, the great Neglect of Education in several noble Families, whose Sons are suffered to pass the most improveable Seasons of their Youth in Vice and Idleness, have too much lessened their Reputation: But even this Misfortune we owe, among all the rest, to that *Whiggish* Practice of reviling the *Universities*, under the Pretence of their instilling *Pedantry*, narrow Principles, and *High-Church Doctrines*.

I WOULD not be thought to undervalue *Merit* and *Virtue*, wherever they are to be found; but will allow

allow them capable of the highest Dignities in a State, when they are in a very great Degree of Eminence. A Pearl holds its Value, although it be found in a Dunghill; but, however, that is not the most probable Place to search for it. Nay, I will go farther, and admit, that a Man of Quality without *Merit*, is just so much the worse for his Quality; which at once sets his Vices in a more publick View, and reproacheth him for them. But, on the other Side, I doubt, those, who are always undervaluing the Advantages of Birth, and celebrating personal Merit, have principally an Eye to their own, which they are fully satisfied with, and which no Body will dispute with them about; whereas they cannot, without Impudence and Folly, pretend to be nobly born; because this is a Secret too easily discovered: For no Mens Parentage is so nicely enquired into as that of assuming Upstarts, especially when they affect to make it better than it is, as they often do, or behave themselves with Insolence.

BUT whatever may be the Opinion of others upon this Subject, whose philosophical Scorn for *Blood* and *Families* reacheth even to those that are *Royal*, or perhaps took its Rise from a *Whiggish* Contempt of the latter; I am pleased to find *two* such Instances of extraordinary Merit, as I have mentioned, joined with ancient and honourable Birth; which, whether it be of real or imaginary Value, hath been held in Veneration by all wise, polite States, both ancient and modern. And, as much a Foppery as Men pretend to think it, nothing is more observable in those who rise to great Place or Wealth, from mean Originals, than their mighty Solicitude to convince the World, that they are not so low as is commonly believed. They are glad to find it made out by some
trained

strained Genealogy, that they have a remote Alliance with better Families. *Cromwell* himself was pleased with the Impudence of a Flatterer, who undertook to prove him descended from a Branch of the Royal Stem. I know a *Citizen* who adds or alters a Letter in his Name with every *Plumb* he acquires; he now wants only the Change of a Vowel^a to be allied to a sovereign Prince in *Italy*; and that perhaps he may contrive to be done by a *Mistake* of the Graver upon his *Tombstone*.

WHEN I am upon this Subject of *Nobility*, I am sorry for the Occasion given me to mention the Loss of a *Person*, who was so great an Ornament to it, as the late ^b *Lord President*; who began early to distinguish himself in the *Publick Service*, and passed through the highest Employments of State, in the most difficult Times, with great *Abilities* and untainted *Honour*. As he was of a good old Age, his Principles of Religion and Loyalty had received no Mixture from late *Infusions*, but were instilled into him by his illustrious Father, and other noble Spirits, who had exposed their Lives and Fortunes for the *Royal Martyr*:

———— *Pulcherrima Proles,*

Magnanimi Heroes nati melioribus annis.

HIS first great Action was, like *Scipio*, to defend his Father when oppressed by Numbers; and his filial Piety was not only rewarded with long Life, but with a Son, who, upon the like Occasion, would have shewn the same Resolution. No Man ever preserved his Dignity better when he was out of Power, nor shewed more Affability while he was in. To conclude, his Character (which I do not here pretend to draw) is such as his nearest Friends may safely trust to the most impartial Pen; nor wants the least of that Allowance which, they say, is required for those who are dead.

^a Sir H. Furnesse.

^b Earl of Rochester

VOL. VII.

R

T H E



THE
EXAMINER.

NUMBER XLI.

Thursday May 17, 1711.

— *Quem cur distringere coner,
Tutus ab infestis latronibus?*

I Never let slip an Opportunity of endeavouring to convince the World, that I am not partial; and to confound the idle Reproach of my being hired or directed what to write in Defence of the present Ministry, or for detecting the Practices of the former. When I first undertook this Paper, I firmly resolved, that if ever I observed any gross Neglect, Abuse, or Corruption in the public Management, which might give any just Offence to reasonable People, I would take notice of it with that innocent Boldness which becometh an honest Man, and a true Lover of his Country; at the same time preserving the Respect due to Persons so highly entrusted by so wise and excellent a QUEEN. I know not how such a Liberty might have been resented;

resented ; but, I thank GOD, there hath been no Occasion given me to exercise it ; for I can safely affirm, that I have, with the utmost Rigour, examined all the Actions of the present Ministry, as far as they fall under general Cognizance, without being able to accuse them of one ill or mistaken Step. Observing indeed some Time ago, that Seeds of Dissention had been plentifully scattered from a *certain Corner*, and fearing they began to rise and spread, I immediately writ a Paper on the Subject, which I treated with that Warmth I thought it required ; but the Prudence of those at the Helm soon prevented this growing Evil ; and at present it seems likely to have no Consequences.

I HAVE had, indeed, for some Time, a small Occasion of Quarrelling, which I thought too inconsiderable for a formal Subject of Complaint, although I have hinted at it more than once. But it is grown at present to as great a Height as a Matter of that Nature can possibly bear ; and therefore I conceive it high Time, that an effectual Stop should be put to it. I have been amazed at the flaming Licentiousness of several Weekly Papers, which, for some Months past, have been chiefly employed in barefaced Scurrilities against those who are in the greatest Trust and Favour with the QUEEN, with the first and last Letters of their Names frequently printed ; or some *Periphrasis* describing their Station, or other *Innuendo's*, contrived too plain to be mistaken. The Consequence of which is (and it is natural it should be so) that their long Impunity hath rendered them still more audacious.

At this Time I particularly intend a Paper called the *Medley*, whose indefatigable, incessant Railings against me, I never thought convenient to take

Notice of, because it would have diverted my Design, which I intended to be of publick Use. Besides, I never yet observed that Writer, or those Writers (for it is every Way a *Medley*) to argue against any one material Point or Fact that I had advanced, or make one fair Quotation. And after all, I knew very well how soon the World grows weary of Controversy. It is plain to me, that three or four Hands at least have been joined at Times in that worthy Composition; but the Out-lines, as well as the Finishing, seem to have been always the Work of the same Pen, as it is visible from half a score Beauties of Style inseparable from it. But who these *Medlers* are, or where the judicious Leaders have picked them up, I shall never go about to conjecture: Factious Rancour, false Wit, abandoned Scurrility, impudent Falshood, and servile Pedantry, having so many Fathers, and so few to own them, that Curiosity herself would not be at the Pains to guess. It is the first Time I ever did myself the Honour to mention that admirable Paper; nor could I imagine any Occasion likely to happen, that would make it necessary for me to engage with such an Adversary. This Paper is Weekly published, and, as appears by the Number, hath been so for several Months; and is, next to the *Observer*, allowed to be the best Production of that Party. Last Week my Printer brought me that of May 7, Number 32, where there are two Paragraphs relating to the *Speaker* of the House of Commons, and to Mr. *Harley*, which, as little as I am inclined to engage with such an Antagonist, I cannot let pass without failing in my Duty to the Publick: And if those in Power will suffer such infamous Insinuations to pass with Impu-

Impunity, they act without Precedent from any Age, or Country of the World.

I desire to open this Matter, and leave the *Whigs* themselves to determine upon it. The House of Commons resolved, *Nemine contradicente*, that the *Speaker* should congratulate Mr. *Harley's* Escape and Recovery, in the Name of the House, upon his first Attendance on their Service. This is accordingly done; and the Speech, together with the Chancellor of the *Exchequer's*, are printed by Order of the House. The Author of the *Medley* takes this Speech to Task the very next Week after it is published; telling us, in the aforesaid Paper, that the *Speaker's* commending Mr. *Harley* for being an Instrument of great Good to the Nation, was ill-chosen Flattery; because Mr. *Harley* had brought the Nation under great Difficulties, to say no more. He says, that when the *Speaker* tells Mr. *Harley*, that Providence hath wonderfully preserved him from some unparalleled Attempts (for that the *Medley* alludes to) he only receives a false and groundless Calumny upon other Men; which is an Instance of impotent, but inveterate Malice, that makes him [the *Speaker*] still appear more vile and contemptible. This is an Extract from his first Paragraph. In the next this Writer says, That the *Speaker's* praying to GOD for the Continuance of Mr. *Harley's* Life, as an invaluable Blessing, was a fulsome Piece of Insincerity, which exposes him to Shame and Derision; because he is known to bear ill Will to Mr. *Harley*, to have an extreme bad Opinion of him, and to think him an Obstructor of those fine Measures he would bring about.

I NOW appeal to the *Whigs* themselves, whether a great Minister of State, in high Favour with the QUEEN, and a *Speaker* of the House of Commons,

was ever publickly treated after so extraordinary a Manner in the most licentious Times? For this is not a clandestine Libel, stolen into the World, but openly printed and sold, with the Bookseller's Name and Place of Abode at the Bottom. And the Juncture is admirable, when Mr. *Harley* is generally believed upon the very Point to be made an *Earl*, and promoted to the most important Station of the Kingdom; nay, the very Marks of Esteem he hath so lately received from the whole representative Body of the People, are called *ill-chosen Flattery*, and a *fulsome Piece of Insincerity*, exposing the Donors to Shame and Derision.

DOES this intrepid Writer think he hath sufficiently disguised the Matter by that stale Artifice of altering the Story, and putting it as a supposed Case? Did any Man, who ever saw the congratulatory Speech, read either of those Paragraphs in the *Medley*, without interpreting them just as I have done? Will the Author declare, upon his great Sincerity, that he never had any such Meaning? Is it enough, that a Jury at *Westminster-Hall* would perhaps not find him guilty of defaming the *Speaker* and Mr. *Harley* in that Paper? Which, however, I am much in doubt of too; and must think the Law very defective, if the Reputation of such Persons must lie at the Mercy of such Pens. I do not remember to have seen any Libel, supposed to be writ with Caution and double Meaning, in order to prevent Prosecution, delivered under so thin a Cover, or so unartificially made up as this, whether it were from an Apprehension of his Readers Dullness, or an Effect of his own. He hath transcribed the very Phrases of the *Speaker*, and put them in a different Character, for fear they might pass unobserved,

served, and to prevent all Possibility of being mistaken. I shall be pleased to see him have Recourse to the old Evasion, and say, that I, who make the Application, am chargeable with the Abuse : Let any Reader of either Party be Judge. But I cannot forbear asserting, as my Opinion, that for a Ministry to endure such open Calumny, without calling the Author to Account, is next to deserving it. And this is an Omission I venture to charge upon the present Ministry, who are too apt to despise little Things, which, however, have not always little Consequences.

WHEN this Paper was first undertaken, one Design, among others, was to *examine* some of those Writings so frequently published with an evil Tendency, either to Religion or Government ; but I was long diverted by other Enquiries, which I thought more immediately necessary ; to animadvert upon Mens Actions, rather than their Speculations ; to shew the Necessity there was of changing the Ministry, that our Constitution in Church and State might be preserved ; to expose some dangerous Principles and Practices under the former Administration ; and prove, by many Instances, that those who are now at the Helm, are entirely in the true Interest of Prince and People. This, I may modestly hope, hath in some measure been already done, sufficient to answer the End proposed, which was to inform the Ignorant, and those at Distance ; and to convince such as are engaged in a Party from no other Motive than that of Conscience. I know not whether I shall have any Appetite to continue this Work much longer ; if I do, perhaps some Time may be spent in exposing and overturning the false Reasonings of those who engage their Pens on the other Side, without losing Time in vindicating myself against their Scurrilities,

lities, much less in retorting them. Of this sort there is a certain humble Companion, a ^c *French Maitre des Langues*, who every Month publisheth an Extract from Votes, News-Papers, Speeches, and Proclamations, larded with some insipid Remarks of his own; which he calls, *The Political State of Great Britain*. This ingenious Piece, he tells us himself, is constantly translated into *French*, and printed in *Holland*, where the *Dutch*, no doubt, conceive most noble Sentiments of us conveyed through such a Vehicle. It is observable in his Account for *April*, that the Vanity, so predominant in many of his Nation, hath made him more concerned for the Honour of *Guiscard*, than the Safety of *Mr Harley*. And, for fear we should think the worse of his Country upon that *Assassin's* Account, he tells us there have been more Murders, Parricides, and Villainies committed in *England*, than any other Part of the World. I cannot imagine how an illiterate Foreigner, who is neither Master of our Language, nor indeed of common Sense; and who is devoted to a Faction, I suppose, for no other Reason, but his having more *Whig* Customs than *Tories*, should take it into his Head to write politick Tracts of our Affairs. But, I presume, he builds upon the Foundation of having been called to an Account for his Insolence in one of his former Monthly Productions; which is a Method that seldom fails of giving some Vogue to the foolishlest Composition. If such a Work must be done, I wish some tolerable Hand would undertake it; and that we would not suffer a little whiffling *Frenchman* to neglect his Trade of teaching his Language to our Children, and presume to instruct Foreigners in our Politicks.

^c One *A. Boyer*.

T H E

THE
EXAMINER.

NUMBER XLII.

Thursday, May 24, 1711.

*Delicta majorum immeritus lues,
Romane, donec templa refeceris,
Ædesque labentes deorum. —*

SEVERAL Letters have been lately sent me desiring I would make honourable Mention of the pious Design of building fifty Churches in several Parts of *London* and *Westminster*, where they are most wanted, occasioned by an Address of the *Convocation* to the QUEEN, and recommended by Her Majesty to the House of Commons; who immediately promised they *would enable her to accomplish so excellent a Design*, and are now preparing a Bill accordingly. I thought to have deferred any Notice of this important Affair until the End of this Session; at which Time I proposed to deliver a particular Account of the great and useful Things already performed by this present Parliament. But in Compliance

pliance to those who give themselves the Trouble of advising me; and partly convinced by the Reasons they offer, I am content to bestow a Paper upon a Subject that indeed so well deserveth it.

THE Clergy, and whoever else have a true Concern for the Constitution of the Church, cannot but be highly pleased with one Prospect in this new Scene of publick Affairs. They may very well remember the Time when every Session of Parliament was like a Cloud hanging over their Heads; and, if it happened to pass without bursting into some Storm upon the Church, we thanked God; and thought it an happy Escape until the next Meeting; upon which we resumed our secret Apprehensions, although we were not allowed to believe any Danger. Things are now altered, the Parliament takes the Necessities of the Church into Consideration, receives the Proposals of the Clergy met in Convocation, and, amidst all the Exigencies of a long expensive War, and, under the Pressure of heavy Debts, finds a Supply for erecting fifty Edifices for the Service of God. And it appears by the Address of the Commons to Her Majesty upon this Occasion (wherein they discovered a true Spirit of Religion) that the applying the Money granted *to accomplish so excellent a Design*, would, in their Opinion, be the most effectual Way of carrying on the War; that it would (to use their own Words) *be a Means of drawing down Blessings on Her Majesty's Undertakings, as it adds to the Number of those Places, where the Prayers of her devout and faithful Subjects will be daily offered up to God for the Prosperity of her Government at Home, and the Success of her Arms Abroad.*

I am sometimes hoping, that we are not naturally so bad a People as we have appeared for some Years past. *Faction*, in order to support itself, is generally forced to make use of such abominable Instruments, that, as long as it prevails, the Genius of a Nation is over-pressed, and cannot appear to exert itself; but when that is broke and suppressed, when Things return to the old Course, Mankind will naturally fall to act from Principles of Reason and Religion. The *Romans*, upon a great Victory, or Escape from publick Danger, frequently built a Temple in Honour of some God, to whose peculiar Favour they imputed their Success or Delivery: And sometimes the *General* did the like, at his own Expence, to acquit himself of some pious Vow he had made. How little of any thing resembling this hath been done by us after all our Victories! And perhaps for that Reason, among others, they have turned to so little Account. But what could we expect? We acted all along as if we believed nothing of a God, or his Providence; and therefore it was consistent to offer up our Edifices only to *these*, whom we looked upon as *Givers of all Victory* in his stead.

I have computed that fifty Churches may be built, by a Medium, at six thousand Pounds for a Church, which is somewhat under the Price of a *Subject's Palace*; yet, perhaps, the Care of above two hundred thousand Souls, with the Benefit of their Prayers for the Prosperity of their QUEEN and Country, may be almost put in the Balance with the domestick Convenience, or even Magnificence, of any *Subject* whatsoever.

SIR *William Petty*, who, under the Name of Captain *Graunt*, published some Observations upon
Bills

Bills of Mortality about five Years after the *Restoration*, tells us the Parishes in *London* were, even then, so unequally divided, that some were two hundred times larger than others. Since that Time the Increase of Trade, the Frequency of Parliaments, the Desire of living in the Metropolis, together with that Genius for building, which began after the *Fire*, and hath ever since continued, have prodigiously enlarged this Town on all Sides, where it was capable of Increase ; and those Tracts of Land built into Streets, have generally continued of the same Parish they belonged to while they lay in Fields; so that the Care of above Thirty thousand Souls hath been sometimes committed to one Minister, whose Church would hardly contain the twentieth Part of his Flock. Neither, I think, was any Family in those Parishes obliged to pay above a Groat a Year to their spiritual Pastor. Some few of those Parishes have been since divided, in others were erected Chapels of Ease, where a Preacher is maintained by general Contribution, Such poor Shifts and Expedients, to the infinite Shame and Scandal of so vast and flourishing a City, have been thought sufficient for the Service of God and Religion, as if they were Circumstances wholly indifferent.

This Defect, among other Consequences of it, hath made *Schism* a sort of necessary Evil ; there being at least three hundred thousand Inhabitants in this Town whom the Churches would not be able to contain, if the People were ever so well disposed : And in a City not overstocked with Zeal, the only Way to preserve any Degree of Religion, is to make all Attendance upon the Duties of it as easy and cheap as possible ; whereas, on the contrary, in the larger Parishes the Press is so great, and the Pew-keepers

keepers Tax so exorbitant, that those who love to save Trouble and Money, either stay at home, or retire to the *Conventicles*. I believe there are few Examples, in any *Christian* Country, of so great a Neglect for Religion; and the Dissenting Teachers have made their Advantages largely by it, *sowing Tares among the Wheat while Men slept*, being much more expert at procuring Contributions, which is a Trade they are bred up in, than Men of a liberal Education.

AND, to say the Truth, the Way practised by several Parishes in and about this Town, of maintaining their Clergy by voluntary Subscriptions, is not only an Indignity to the Character, but hath many pernicious Consequences attending it; such a precarious Dependance subjecting a Clergyman, who hath not more than ordinary Spirit and Resolution, to many Inconveniencies, which are obvious to imagine; but this Defect will, no doubt, be remedied by the Wisdom and Piety of the present Parliament; and a Tax laid upon every House in a Parish, for the Support of their Pastor. Neither indeed can it be conceived, why a House, whose Purchase is not reckoned above one third less than Land of the same yearly Rent, would not pay a twentieth Part annually (which is half Tythe) to the Support of the Minister. One thing I could wish, that, in fixing the Maintenance to the several Ministers in these new intended Parishes, no determinate Sum of Money may be named, which, in all Perpetuities, ought by any Means to be avoided, but rather a Tax in proportion to the Rent of each House, although it be but a twentieth, or even a thirtieth Part. The contrary of this, I am told, was done in several Parishes of the City after the *Fire*, where the Incumbent,
and

and his Successors, were to receive for ever a certain Sum ; for Example, one or two hundred Pounds a Year. But the Lawgivers did not consider, that what we call at present one hundred Pounds, will not, in Process of Time, have the intrinsic Value of twenty ; as twenty Pounds now are hardly equal to forty Shillings three hundred Years ago. There are a thousand Instances of this all over *England*, in reserved Rents applied to Hospitals, in old Chiefries, and even among the Clergy themselves, in those Payments, which I think, they call a *Modus*.

As no Prince had ever better Dispositions than Her present Majesty, for the Advancement of true Religion ; so there never was any Age that produced greater Occasions to employ them on. It is an unspeakable Misfortune, that any Designs of so excellent a QUEEN should be checked by the Necessities of a long and ruinous War, which the Folly or Corruption of *modern Politicians* have involved us in, against all the Maxims whereby our Country flourished so many hundred Years : Else Her Majesty's Care of Religion would certainly have reached even to her *American* Plantations. Those noble Countries stocked by Numbers from hence, whereof too many are in no very great Reputation for Faith or Morals, will be a perpetual Reproach to us, until some better Care be taken for cultivating *Christianity* among them. If the Governors of those several Colonies were obliged, at certain Times, to transmit an exact Representation of the State of Religion in their several Districts, and the Legislature here would, in a Time of Leisure, take that Affair under their Consideration, it might be perfected with little Difficulty, and be a great Addition to the Glories of Her Majesty's Reign.

But

BUT, to wave further Speculations upon so remote a Scene, while we have Subjects enough to employ them on at home: It is to be hoped the Clergy will not let slip any proper Opportunity of improving the pious Dispositions of the QUEEN and Kingdom, for the Advantage of the Church; when, by the Example of Times past, they consider how rarely such Conjunctions are like to happen. What if some Method were thought on towards repairing of Churches; for which there is like to be too frequent Occasion; those ancient *Gothick* Structures, throughout this Kingdom, going every Year to decay. That Expedient of repairing or rebuilding them by charitable Collections, seems, in my Opinion, not very suitable either to the Dignity and Usefulness of the Work, or to the Honour of our Country, since it might be so easily done with very little Charge to the Publick, in a much more decent and honourable Manner, while Parliaments are so frequently called. But these, and other Regulations, must be left to a Time of *Peace*, which I shall humbly presume to wish may soon be our Share, however offensive it may be to any, either *Abroad* or at *Home*; who are Gainers by the War.



THE
EXAMINER.

NUMBER XLIII.

Thursday, May 31, 1711.

Scilicet, ut possis curvo dignoscere rectum.

HAVING been forced in my Papers to use the Cant-words of *Whig* and *Tory*, which have so often varied their Significations for twenty Years past; I think it necessary to say something of the several Changes those two Terms have undergone since that Period; and then to tell the Reader what I have always understood by each of them since I undertook this Work. I reckon that these Sorts of conceited Appellations are usually invented by the Vulgar; who, not troubling themselves to examine thoroughly the Merits of a Cause, are consequently the most violent Partisans of what they espouse, and in their Quarrels, usually proceed to their beloved Argument of calling *Names*, until at length they light upon one which is sure to stick: and, in Time, each Party grows proud of that Appellation which their Adversaries

versaries at first intended for a Reproach. Of this kind were the *Prasini* and *Veneti*, the *Guelfs* and *Gibelines*, *Huguenots* and *Papists*, *Round-heads* and *Cavaliers*, with many others of ancient and modern Date. Among us of late there seems to have been a Barrenness of Invention in this Point; the Words, *Whig* and *Tory*, although they be not much above thirty Years old, having been pressed to the Service of many Successions of Parties, with very different Ideas fastened to them. This Distinction, I think, began towards the latter Part of King *Charles* the Second's Reign, was dropt during that of his Successor, and then revived at the *Revolution*; since which it hath perpetually flourished, although applied to very different kinds of Principles and Persons. In that Convention of Lords and Commons, some of both Houses were for a *Regency* to the Prince of *Orange*, with a Reservation of Style and Title to the absent King, which should be made use of in all publick Acts: Others, when they were brought to allow the Throne vacant, thought the Succession should immediately go to the next Heir, according to the fundamental Laws of the Kingdom; as if the last King were actually dead. And, although the Dissenting Lords (in whose House the chief Opposition was) did at last yield both those Points, took the Oaths to the new King, and many of them Employments; yet they were looked upon with an evil Eye by the warm Zealots of the other Side; neither did the Court ever heartily favour any of them, although some of them were the most eminent for Abilities and Virtue, and served that Prince, both in his Councils and the Army, with untainted Faith. It was apprehended at the same Time, and perhaps it might have been true, that many of

the Clergy would have been better pleased with that Scheme of a *Regency*, or at least an uninterrupted lineal Succession, for the Sake of those whole Consciences were truly *scrupulous*; and they thought there were some Circumstances in the Case of the deprived Bishops, that looked a little hard, or at least deserved Commiseration.

THESE, and other the like Reflections, did, as I conceive, revive the Denominations of *Whig* and *Tory*.

SOME Time after the Revolution the Distinction of *High* and *Low* Church came in, which was raised by the Dissenters in order to break the Church Party, by dividing the Members into *High* and *Low*; and the Opinion raised, that the *High* joined with the *Papists*, inclined the *Low* to fall in with the *Dissenters*.

AND here I shall take Leave to produce some Principles, which, in the several Periods of the late Reign, served to denote a Man of one or t'other Party. To be against a Standing Army in Time of Peace was all *High-Church*, *Tory*, and *Tantivy*; to differ from a Majority of Bishops was the same. To raise the Prerogative above Law for serving a Turn, was *Low-Church* and *Whig*. The Opinion of the Majority in the House of Commons, especially of the Country Party or Landed Interest, was *High-flying* and *rank Tory*. To exalt the King's Supremacy beyond all Precedent, was *Low-Church*, *Whiggish*, and *Moderate*. To make the least Doubt of the pretended Prince's being supposititious, and a *Tiler's* Son, was, in their Phrase, *Top* and *Top-gallant*, and *perfect Jacobitism*. To resume the most exorbitant Grants that were ever given to a Set of profligate Favourites, and apply them to the Publick,

was

was the very Quintessence of *Toryism*; notwithstanding those Grants were known to be acquired by sacrificing the Honour and the Wealth of *England*.

IN most of these Principles the two Parties seem to have shifted Opinions since their Institution under King *Charles* the Second; and indeed to have gone very different from what was expected from each, even at the Time of the *Revolution*. But, as to that concerning the *Pretender*, the *Whigs* have so far renounced it, that they are grown the great Advocates for his Legitimacy: Which gives me the Opportunity of vindicating a noble Duke, who was accused of a Blunder in the House, when, upon a certain Lord's mentioning the *Pretended Prince*, his Grace told the Lords: *He must be plain with them, and call that Person, not the Pretended Prince, but the Pretended Impostor*: Which was so far from a Blunder in that polite Lord, as his Ill-willers give out, that it was only a refined Way of delivering the avowed Sentiments of his whole Party.

BUT to return: This was the State of Principles when the *QUEEN* came to the Crown; some time after which, it pleased certain great Persons, who had been all their Lives in the Altitude of *Tory* Profession, to enter into a Treaty with the *Whigs*, from whom they could get no better Terms than from their old Friends, who began to be resty, and would not allow Monopolies of Power and Favour, nor consent to carry on the War intirely at the Expence of this Nation, that they might have Pensions from abroad; while another People, more immediately concerned in the War, traded with the Enemy as in Times of Peace; whereas the other Party, whose Case appeared then as desperate, was ready to yield to any Conditions that would bring them into Play. And

I cannot help affirming, that this Nation was made a Sacrifice to the unmeasurable Appetite of Power and Wealth in a *very few*, that shall be nameless, who, in every Step they made, acted directly against what they had always professed. And if his Royal Highness the Prince had died some Years sooner, (who was a perpetual Check in their Career) it is dreadful to think how far they might have proceeded.

SINCE that Time the Bulk of the *Whigs* appeared rather to be linked to a certain Set of *Persons*, than any certain Set of *Principles*; so that if I were to define a Member of that Party, I should say, he was one *who believed in the late Ministry*. And therefore whatever I have affirmed of *Whigs* in any of these Papers, or objected against them, ought to be understood either of those, who were Partisans of the late Men in Power, and privy to their Designs, or such who joined with them from a Hatred to our Monarchy and Church, as Unbelievers and *Dissenters* of all Sizes; or Men in Office, who had been guilty of much Corruption, and dreaded a Change, which would not only put a Stop to further Abuses for the future; but might perhaps introduce Examinations of what was past; or those who had been too highly obliged, to quit their Supporters with any common Decency; or, lastly, the *Money Traders*, who would never hope to make their Market so well of *Premiums*, and exorbitant Interest, and high Remittances under any other Administration.

UNDER these Heads may be reduced the whole Body of those whom I have all along understood for *Whigs*; for I do not include within this Number any of those, who have been misled by Ignorance, or seduced by plausible Pretences, to think better of that sort of Men than they deserve, and to apprehend
mighty

mighty Dangers from their Disgrace; because, I believe, the greatest Part of such well-meaning People are now thoroughly converted.

AND indeed it must be allowed, that the two fantastick Names of *Whig* and *Tory* have at present very little Relation to those Opinions which were at first thought to distinguish them. Whoever formerly professed himself to approve the *Revolution*, to be against the *Pretender*, to justify the Succession in the House of *Hanover*, to think the *British* Monarchy not absolute, but limited by Laws, which the executive Power could not dispense with, and to allow an Indulgence to scrupulous Consciences; such a Man was content to be called a *Whig*. On the other Side, whoever asserted the *QUEEN*'s hereditary Right, that the Persons of Princes were sacred, their lawful Authority not to be resisted on any Pretence; nor even their Usurpations, without the most extreme Necessity; that Breaches in the Succession were highly dangerous; that *Schism* was a great Evil, both in itself and its Consequences; that the Ruin of the *Church* would probably be attended with that of the *State*; that no Power should be trusted with those who are not of the established Religion, such a Man was usually called a *Tory*. Now, although the Opinions of both these are very consistent, and I really think are maintained at present by a great Majority of the Kingdom; yet according as Men apprehend the Danger greater, either from the *Pretender* and his Party, or from the Violence and Cunning of other *Enemies* to the Constitution; so their common Discourses and Reasonings turn either to the first or second Set of these Opinions I have mentioned, and they are consequently styled either *Whigs* or *Tories*. Which is as if two *Brothers* apprehended their House

would be set upon, but disagreed about the Place from whence they thought the *Robbers* would come, and therefore would go on different Sides to defend it; they must needs weaken and expose themselves by such a *Separation*; and so did we, only our Case was worse; for, in order to keep off a *weak, remote Enemy*, from whom we could not suddenly apprehend any Danger, we took a *nearer* and a *stronger* one into the *House*. I make no Comparison at all between the two Enemies; *Popery* and *Slavery* are, without doubt, the greatest and most dreadful of any; but I may venture to affirm, that the Fears of these have not, at least since the *Revolution*, been so close and pressing upon us as that from *another Faction*; excepting only one short Period, when the Leaders of that very Faction invited the abdicating King to return; of which I have formerly taken Notice.

HAVING thus declared what sort of Persons I have always meant, under the Denomination of *Whigs*, it will be easy to shew whom I understand by *Tories*. Such whose Principles in Church and State are what I have above related; whose Actions are derived from thence, and who have no Attachment to any Set of *Ministers*, further than as they are Friends to the Constitution in all its Parts; but will do their utmost to save their Prince and Country, *whoever* be at the Helm.

By these Descriptions of *Whig* and *Tory*, I am sensible those Names are given to several Persons very undeservedly; and that many a Man is called by one or the other, who has not the least Title to the Blame or Praise I have bestowed on each of them throughout my Papers.

T H E

T H E
E X A M I N E R.

N U M B E R XLIV.

Thursday, June 7, 1711.

*Magna vis est, magnum nomen, unum & idem sentien-
tis Senatus.*

WHOEVER calls to mind the Clamour and the Calumny, the artificial Fears and Jealousies, the shameful Misrepresentation of Persons and of Things, that were raised and spread by the Leaders and Instruments of a *certain Party*, upon the Change of the late Ministry, and Dissolution of Parliament; if he be a true Lover of his Country, must feel a mighty Pleasure, although mixed with some Indignation, to see the Wishes, the Conjectures the Endeavours of an inveterate Faction intirely disappointed; and this important Period wholly spent in restoring the Prerogative to the Prince, and Liberty to the Subject; in reforming past Abuses, preventing future, supplying old Deficiencies, providing for Debts, restoring the Clergy to their Rights, and taking Care of the Necessities of the Church; and

all this unattended with any of those Misfortunes which some Men *hoped* for, while they pretended to *fear*.

For my own Part, I must confess, the Difficulties appeared so great to me, from such a Noise and Shew of Opposition, that I thought nothing but the absolute Necessity of Affairs could ever justify so daring an Attempt. But a wise and good Prince, at the Head of an able Ministry, and of a Senate freely chosen, all united to pursue the true Interest of their Country, is a Power, against which the little inferior Politicks of any Faction will be able to make no long Resistance. To this we may add one additional Strength, which, in the Opinion of our Adversaries, is the greatest and justest of any; I mean the *Vox Populi*, so indisputably declarative on the same Side. I am apt to believe, when these discarded Politicians begin seriously to consider all this, they will think it proper to give out, and reserve their Wisdom for some more convenient Juncture.

It is pleasant enough to observe, that those who were the chief Instruments of raising the Noise, who started Fears, bespoke Dangers, and formed ominous Prognosticks, in order to scare the *Allies*, to spirit the *French*, and fright ignorant People at home; made Use of those very Opinions themselves had broached, for Arguments to prove, that the Change of Ministers was dangerous and unseasonable. But if a House be *swept*, the more Occasion there is for such a Work, the more *Dust* it will raise; if it be going to *Ruin*, the *Repairs*, however necessary, will *make a Noise*, and *disturb the Neighbourhood* a while. And as to the Rejoicings made in *France*, if it be true that they had any, upon the News of those Alterations among us; their Joy was grounded upon
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the *same Hopes* with that of the *Whigs*, who comforted themselves, that the Change of Ministry and Parliament, would infallibly put us all into Confusion, increase our Divisions, and destroy our Credit; wherein, I suppose, by this Time they are *equally* undeceived.

BUT this long Session being in a Manner ended, which several Circumstances, and one *Accident*, altogether unforeseen, have drawn out beyond the usual Time; it may be some small Piece of Justice to so excellent an Assembly, barely to mention a few of those great Things they have done for the Service of their *QUEEN* and Country, which I shall take notice of just as they come to my Memory.

THE Credit of the Nation began mightily to suffer by a Discount upon *Exchequer Bills*, which have been generally reckoned the surest and most sacred of all Securities. The present *Lord Treasurer*, then a Member of the House of Commons, proposed a Method, which was immediately complied with, of raising them to a *Par* with *Specie*; and so they have ever since continued.

THE *British Colonies* of *Newis* and *St. Christopher's* had been miserably plundered by the *French*, their Houses burnt, their Plantations destroyed, and many of the Inhabitants carried away Prisoners; they had often, for some Years past, applied in vain for Relief from hence: until the present Parliament, considering their Condition as a Case of Justice and Mercy, voted them One hundred thousand Pounds, by way of Recompence, in some manner, for their Sufferings.

SOME Persons, whom the Voice of the Nation authorizeth me to call her *Enemies*, taking Advantage of the general Naturalization Act, had invited
over

over a great Number of Foreigners of all Religions, under the Name of *Palatines*, who understood no Trade or Handicraft; yet rather chose to beg than labour, who, besides infesting our Streets, bred contagious Diseases, by which we lost in *Natives* thrice the Number of what we gained in *Foreigners*. The House of Commons, as a Remedy against this Evil, brought in a Bill for repealing that Act of General Naturalization; which, to the Surprize of most People, was rejected by the Lords. And, upon this Occasion, I must allow myself to have been justly rebuked by one of my Weekly Monitors, for pretending, in a former Paper, to hope that Law would be repealed; wherein the Commons, being disappointed, took care, however, to send many of the *Palatines* away, and to represent their being invited over as a pernicious Counsel.

THE *Qualification-Bill*, incapacitating all Men to serve in Parliament who have not some Estate in Land, either in Possession or certain Reversion, is, perhaps, the greatest Security that ever was contrived for preserving the Constitution, which otherwise might, in a little Time, lie wholly at the Mercy of the *Money'd* Interest. And since much the greatest Part of the Taxes is paid, either immediately from Land, or from its Productions, it is but common Justice, that those, who are the Proprietors, should appoint what Portion of it ought to go to the Support of the Publick; otherwise the Engrossers of Money would be apt to lay heavy Loads on others, which themselves never touch with one of their Fingers.

THE publick Debts were so prodigiously increased, by the Negligence and Corruption of those who had been Managers of the Revenue, that the late Ministers,

nisters, like careless Men who run out their Fortunes, were so far from any Thoughts of Payment, that they had not the Courage to state or compute them. The Parliament found that thirty-five Millions had never been accounted for; and that the Debt on the Navy, wholly unprovided for, amounted to nine Millions. The late ^a *Chancellor of the Exchequer*, suitable to his transcendent Genius for publick Affairs, proposed a Fund to be Security for that immense Debt, which is now confirmed by a Law, and is likely to prove the greatest Restoration and Establishment of the Kingdom's Credit. Not content with this, the Legislature hath appointed Commissioners of Accompts to inspect into past Mismanagements of the publick Money, and prevent them for the future.

I have, in a former Paper, mentioned the Act for building fifty new Churches in *London* and *Westminster*, with a Fund appropriated for that pious and noble Work. But while I am mentioning Acts of Piety, it would be unjust to conceal my Lord *High-Treasurer's* Concern for Religion, which hath extended even to another Kingdom: His Lordship having, some Months ago, obtained of Her Majesty the First Fruits and Tenths to the Clergy of *Ireland*, as he is known to have already done to that Reverend Body here.

THE Act for carrying on a Trade to the *South-Sea*, proposed by the same great Person, whose Thoughts are perpetually employed, and ever with Success, on the Good of his Country, will, in all Probability, if duly executed, be of mighty Advantage to the Kingdom, and an everlasting Honour to the present Parliament.

^a Earl of Oxford.

I might

I might go on further, and mention that seasonable Law against excessive Gaming; the putting a Stop to that scandalous Fraud of false Musters in the Guards; the diligent and effectual Enquiry made by the Commons into several gross Abuses. I might produce many Instances of their impartial Justice in deciding controverted Elections against *former Example*, and great Provocations to retaliate. I might shew their chearful Readiness in granting such vast Supplies; their great Unanimity, not to be broken by all the Arts of a malicious and cunning Faction; their unfeigned Duty to the QUEEN; and, lastly, that Representation made to Her Majesty from the House of Commons, discovering such a Spirit and Disposition in that noble Assembly, to redress all those Evils which a long Mal-Administration had brought upon us.

It is probable, that, trusting only to my Memory, I may have omitted many Things of great Importance; neither do I pretend further, in the Compass of this Paper, than to give the World some general, however imperfect Idea, how worthily this great Assembly hath discharged the Trust of those who so freely chose them; and what we may reasonably hope and expect from the Piety, Courage, Wisdom, and Loyalty of such excellent Patriots, in a Time so fruitful of Occasions to exert the greatest Abilities.

AND now I conceive the main Design I had in writing these Papers is fully executed. A great Majority of the Nation is at length thoroughly convinced, that the QUEEN proceeded with the highest Wisdom, in changing her Ministry and Parliament; that, under a former Administration, the greatest Abuses of all Kinds were committed, and the
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the most dangerous Attempts against the Constitution for some Time intended. The whole Kingdom finds the present Persons in Power directly and openly pursuing the true Service of their QUEEN and Country ; and to be such, whom their most bitter Enemies cannot tax with Bribery, Covetousness, Ambition, Pride, Insolence, or any pernicious Principles in Religion or Government.

FOR my own Particular, those little barking Curs, which have so constantly pursued me, I take to be of no further Consequence to what I have writ, than the scoffing Slaves of old, placed behind the Chariot, to put the General in mind of his Mortality ; which was but a Thing of Form, and made no Stop or Disturbance in the Show. However, if those perpetual Snarlers against me had the same Design, I must own they have effectually compassed it ; since nothing can be more mortifying than to reflect, that I am of the same Species with Creatures capable of uttering so much Scurrility, Dulness, Falshood, and Impertinence, to the Scandal and Disgrace of human Nature.



THE
EXAMINER.

NUMBER XLV.

Thursday, June 14, 1711.

Melius non tangere clamo.

WHEN a General hath conquered an Army, and reduced a Country to Obedience, he often finds it necessary to send out small Bodies, in order to take in petty Castles and Forts, and beat little, straggling Parties, which are otherwise apt to make head, and infest the Neighbourhood. This Case exactly resembles mine: I count the main Body of the *Whigs* entirely subdued, at least, until they appear with new Reinforcements, I shall reckon them as such; and therefore do now find myself at Leisure to examine inferior Abuses. The Business I have left, is to fall on those Wretches, who would still be keeping the War on Foot when they have no Country to defend, no Forces to bring into the Field, nor any Thing remaining but their bare good Will

towards

towards *Faction* and *Mischief*: I mean, the present Set of Writers whom I have suffered, without Molestation, so long to infest the Town. If there were not a Concurrence from Prejudice, Party, weak Understanding, and Misrepresentation, I should think them too inconsiderable in themselves to deserve Correction: But, as my Endeavour hath been to expose the gross Impositions of the *fallen Party*, I will give a Taste, in the following Petition, of the Sincerity of their *Factors*, to shew how little those Writers for the *Whigs* were guided by Conscience or Honour; their Business being only to gratify a prevailing Interest.

To the Right Honourable the present Ministry, the humble Petition of the Party-Writers to the late Ministry

Humbly Sheweth,

THAT your Petitioners have served their Time to the Trade of writing Pamphlets and Weekly Papers in Defence of the Whigs, against the Church of England, the Christian Religion, Her Majesty's Prerogative and her Title to the Crown: That, since the late Change of Ministry, and Meeting of this Parliament, the said Trade is mightily fallen off, and the Call for the said Pamphlets and Papers much less than formerly; and it is feared, to our further Prejudice, that the Examiner may discontinue writing; whereby some of your Petitioners, will be brought to utter Distress; forasmuch as through false Quotations, noted Absurdities, and other legal Abuses, many of your Petitioners, to their great Comfort and Support, were enabled to pick up a Weekly Subsistence out of the said Examiner.

That,

That your said poor Petitioners did humbly offer your Honours to write in Defence of the late Change of Ministry and Parliament much cheaper than they did for your Predecessors; which your Honours were pleased to refuse.

Notwithstanding which Offer, your Petitioners are under daily Apprehension, that your Honours will forbid them to follow the said Trade any longer; by which your Petitioners, to the Number of Four Score, with their Wives and Families, will inevitably starve; having been bound to no other Calling.

YOUR Petitioners desire your Honours will tenderly consider the Premises, and suffer your said Petitioners to continue their Trade (those who set them at Work, being still willing to employ them, although at lower Rates) and your said Petitioners will give Security to make use of the same Stuff, and dress it in the same Manner, as they always did, and no other.

And your Petitioners, &c.

It is a certain Sign, that a Man is in the right, when he raiseth all the Scriblers against him: I have sometimes had it in my Head, to write a particular History of Abuses and Corruptions. As I find myself at Leisure this Summer, I shall pursue the Design; where, besides enumerating the gross Defect, not only of Duty and Respect to the most gracious QUEEN that ever reigned, I propose to shew in every Article, how wrong all Things were managed under the late Ministry, how right they are now, and according to the Constitution. Such a History would be the best Means, not only to expose the principal

principal Actors, but the weekly Hirelings, who toil in their Defence ; who are so notoriously disingenuous, so distant from Matter of Fact, so short of that Spirit and Entertainment which too often mingle with such Pens as dip only in Falsities ; that, if I were to rake into their particular Absurdities (an Attempt which they are secured from by their excessive Dulness) I should have Reason to look upon my Sufferings little short of the Merit of that *Roman*, who, by leaping into a bottomless Gulph, sacrificed his Life to preserve his Country.

I HAVE been often wondering how it comes to pass, that the late Men in Power should be so ill provided with Writers : considering at what full Leisure the Heads and Leaders of them are, and I hope will ever be, they might certainly have made a wiser and more judicious Collection. If, as some imagine, their own Hands have dipt in Ink, and that they themselves have a Share in dressing up the *Medley* and *Observer*, it is a plain Discovery, that their Speculations are as mean and low as their Practices ; for, how can we conceive that the Politeness and sound Judgment of *one*, should never descend to *Billingsgate*, Pedantry, and Nonsense ? Or that a *second*, who owes his Reputation or Wit to his Neighbours, should every Day make his Court officiously to a certain great Minister, and yet once a Week so clumsily abuse him in his Writings ? When I consider the factious Spirit (if any Spirit they have) of these Papers, I can hardly look for the Author of them in *one*, who, by what means soever better convinced, had once so much of that sort of Loyalty as to profess himself a *Nonjuror*.

WITH humble Submission to worse Judgments, I must determine that the Author of the *Medley* is a

Dunce out of his Element, pretending to intermeddle with *Raillery* and *Irony*, wherein he hath no manner of Taste or Understanding: his Topick of Raillery may be all reduced under those two Words, QUOTH HE; which he seldom fails in any one of his Papers to be arch with. His *Irony* consists in the Words MY FRIEND, although sometimes relieved with an Epithet. Doth he think, that, when he says, my *impious Friend*, my *stupid Friend*, and the like; says it in every Paper, and often a dozen times in one; that this is either Wit, Humour, or Satire? If I were *impious* or *stupid*, I should really hope to be his Friend, and think he spoke in earnest. *Irony* is not a Work for such groveling Pens, but extreme difficult even to the best: It is one of the most beautiful Strokes of Rhetorick, and which asks a Master hand to carry on and finish with Success; but when a Bungler attempts beyond his Skill, what was at first mis-shapen, with aukward Polishing becomes entirely deformed: As the false Beauty of Paint upon a Lady's Face is less desirable than no Beauty at all; and the Pertness of a shallow Fop more disagreeable than his Silence.

I SHOULD not have descended so much below the Dignity of this Paper as to regard the Course of these muddy Writers, did not the Heads of the late Faction still endeavour to corrupt the Minds of weak People, who are at Distance from the Metropolis, by their Diligence and Liberality in circulating these Weekly Poisons *gratis*. Great Numbers are constantly sent into the Country, to prepossess the Reader against the *Examiner*, for no other Reason but because they would still mislead, and prevent their being set right in Facts, that they might not see how well the People did to assist the CHURCH
and

and QUEEN: To this End they have been forced to make use of gross Falsities, without the least Appearance of Truth; but however those more modest of their Party here may blush and wonder at the Assurance of their Friends; it serves their Design in the Country, where Truth arrives late; and since the Mercy of the Government, or rather a just Contempt, still suffers these Writers to continue their Efforts, it is not doubted *there* but what they deliver is, at least, free from notorious Falshood. But those Clouds of Ignorance will certainly fly before that Light, which now shines throughout the Nation, from the Representation offered to her MAJESTY by the best *House of Commons* that ever sat, who come the nearest to our *happy Constitution*, both in the Freedom of their Elections, and that true *English* Spirit, which have unanimously carried the Majority of them through, to the End of this memorable *Sessions*. In which *Representation* the People may be convinced, that five Parts in six of what the *Examiners* have charged on the late Ministry and Faction are true; which is so glorious, so unanswerable a Justification of these Papers, that any longer to declaim against them will be as vain and insignificant, as it hath always been a ridiculous Endeavour.



THE
EXAMINER.

NUMBER XLVI.

Thursday, June 21, 1711.

Pauca tamen suberunt priscae vestigia fraudis.

I Hope my Countrymen will believe, that I have a very good Occasion to congratulate with them upon the QUEEN's Speech: All the honest Part must be of Opinion, that nothing ever proceeded from the Throne more glorious for our Representatives in Parliament, or more gracious and satisfactory to the Nation. Could there, amidst that awful Assembly, be any Heart untouched at the Voice of such a QUEEN? recollecting her Piety, the Uprightness of her Life, her unwearied Prayers and Endeavours for the Prosperity of her People, from whose Interests hers were never divided.

HER Majesty filled every loyal Breast with Joy, when, with her graceful Air and elegant Manner of Delivery, she told her Parliament, "The Pleasure she
" took

“took to see the Performance of those Promises
“they had made her at the Beginning of the Sessions ; their complying with her Desire to propagate the Service of God in the building so many
“new Churches ; enabling her to carry on the War ;
“making effectual Provision for paying those heavy
“Debts, which were almost grown an insupportable
“Burthen on the Publick ; when our Enemies *every*
“*where* flattered themselves, that Supplies for the Service of the current Year could not have been found.”

COULD any thing be more grateful to true *British* Spirits, who had done their utmost towards retrieving our Disorders, than to be applauded for disappointing the Enemies of the Nation, in all *Respects* ? Not only by their raising greater Sums than were ever granted to any Prince, in one Session ; but for restoring *publick Credit* ; a Blessing so invaluable, and so much despaired of by our Enemies, that they concluded it impossible for the Ministry and Parliament to extricate us out of those amazing Difficulties whereinto we had been plunged. And truly, if we impartially consider the Measures upon which the late Men in Power proceeded, we shall find it extremely difficult to give any satisfactory Account to Reason or Policy, for their notorious Depeculations (if my Friend the *Medley* will give me Leave to make use of that Word) unless, like some momentary Conquerors, they resolved to waste that Empire they could not keep.

I AM very well assured, that the former Ministry, after a long Run of ill Husbandry, were often at their Wits End (until Things grew riper for that Change they had projected) how to prevent, from breaking all at once upon the Publick, that Report which they knew would ruin their Designs. The

whole Government subsisted upon present Credit, although vast Sums were annually given to support the War; which were so far from being applied this Way, that every Year we were plunged more and more in Debt. It is true, the Parliament voted Subsidies, and the willing People cheerfully paid them, in hopes by an honourable Peace they should quickly see the End of their Miseries and Taxes: Yet the Arrear to the Navy and other Charges ran on; the Ministry put a good Face upon a decaying Constitution; they employed all their Arts to conceal the real Distress we were in; they procured that Money should be lent at 5 *per Cent.* whilst the unhappy Creditors were forced to give from 20 to 40 *per Cent.* Discompt, for every Farthing they received upon the Bills assigned them by the Government. This they very well knew was such ill Management, as could not be long concealed: They had separately and prodigiously enriched themselves; to preserve their Wealth and Authority, they must invade the Constitution. As to their own Possessions, an *Act of Indemnity* had secured them: And for the rest, they had little more to *risque*, than whether they should remain opulent Subjects, although without any Share in the Power; or become Masters, without Limitation.

AVARICE is ever insatiable! how then must it destroy, when it has the Wealth of the Nation to feed on? The Miseries of the People, the Tears and Groans of poor Seamen and their Families, were not regarded by these Devourers; universal Frauds and Abuses not only winked at, but encouraged: Trade not dying, but dead: It is true, publick Credit was still alive, but subsisted only upon strong Cordials, in utter Ignorance of her approaching Dissolution. Yet

no one Step was made by these *State Physicians*, towards preventing her apparent Disease; much less did they take any thought about curing the Malady they had occasioned: they were not so void of Reason, as to be ignorant of the Condition they had reduced us to; they did know it, and stood provided of a *Remedy* to secure themselves (which a little time would perfect to their Wish) and which all good Subjects must tremble to think on; a *Remedy* a thousand times worse than the *Disease*; where, instead of an *Indulgent, Lawful QUEEN*, we must have referred to a lawless *Junto*, and to an *Arbitrary Captain-General*.

BUT now, God be praised, our Fears are dissipated. The *QUEEN* is *free*, and acts entirely according to her own Judgment and Inclination: The Parliament acquiesces in whatever she requireth: We have proved the happy Effects of their mutual Confidence; and, as her Majesty tells us from the Throne, *she shall look upon any Attempt to lessen it, as a Step towards dissolving her Government.*

I COULD make many useful Reflections upon the present happy Change of our Condition; the different State of Security to our Constitution, wherein this Session hath left us, from the Fears that possessed us upon the ending of the last: The Dread and Apprehension the Majority of the Kingdom were then in, lest *that* Parliament should sit any more: The Longings and Impatiencies of the People, until her Majesty shall think fit that *these* may meet again.

WHILST the sinking Credit of the Nation hath been thus retrieved by the great Abilities and Industry of the present Ministry and Parliament; the *Convocation*, no less usefully employed in the Cause of

Piety, have drawn up a *Representation of the present State of Religion, with regard to the late excessive Growth of Infidelity, Heresy, and Profaneness*; unanimously agreed upon in a joint Committee of both Houses of the Province of Canterbury, and afterwards rejected by the Upper House, but passed in the Lower.

I AM sorry these pious Labourers should be baffled in their godly Endeavours, by their own Brethren: I have formerly, in two *Examiners*, touched upon the Nature of this *Synod*, and their Divisions, together with the QUEEN'S Letter, and Desire to reconcile all Differences and Disputes; and hoped to see the happy Effects of her Exhortation. The *Inferior Clergy* have proceeded with a Spirit truly primitive; their *Representation* is writ with such Force of Eloquence and Argument, as must warm the coldest Heart. The narrow Compass of this Paper will not permit me to enumerate all the Heads:

“ They trace the Deluge of *Impiety* from that long
 “ and unnatural Rebellion, which loosened all the
 “ Bands of Discipline and Order; whence Hypo-
 “ crisy and Enthusiasm begat a Disregard for the
 “ very Appearance of Religion, and ended in a
 “ Spirit of downright Libertinism and Profaneness:
 “ Whence Adversaries arose, who openly scattered
 “ the Poison of *Arian* and *Socinian* Heresies; the
 “ Godhead of the Holy Spirit denied; Mysteries
 “ exploded, as implying Contradictions, and inca-
 “ pable of becoming Objects of Assent to reason-
 “ able Minds, &c. From these wicked Principles,
 “ wicked Practices have followed; Frequency of
 “ Oaths and Imprecations; all manner of Excess
 “ and Luxury, Gaming upon the Lord's Day,” &c.

Upon which I must beg leave to subjoin, that a certain late *Great Minister* (in the good Company of

Sir

Sir *James of the Peak*, and others of the same Sort) always made Play his *Sunday's* Entertainment.

IN this *Representation* we have a melancholy Prospect of the State of our Religion; such amazing Impieties can be equalled by nothing, but by those Cities of old destroyed by Fire from Heaven: Nor can that Deluge of Profaneness which over-runs the Nation, have any Check from the pious Endeavours of our Clergy, whilst the Majority, on one part, continue to disagree with the other, about the manner of putting Essentials in Execution. Mean time, the Cause of *Christianity* must suffer, and our *Convocations* still have the Disreputation of doing *nothing*. The *Representation* which themselves have transmitted to the Lower House, is the same in very many of the Facts. As to the Difference in Style and Spirit, I conceive that doth not relate to the Service of Religion in general, any more than, when I am excessive cold, whether I would chuse to be warmed by a quicker or more languid Fire. Nor can I without Pleasure take notice of one Paragraph, where they hope, *That especial Care will be had of the Education of young People at the Universities; that Tutors may teach their Pupils the Principles of the Christian Religion, and endeavour to make them serious in it, with a particular Eye to all such who are designed for Holy Orders.* Where such Reverend Prelates are concerned, it were a sort of Sacrilege to dispute their Sincerity: After this, dare any Person imagine that their Doctrine and their Intentions can differ? or, that so grave and venerable a Body, upon so solemn an Occasion, would deal in *Irony*, or explain their Meaning by Contraries? This must doubtless convince all such who have hitherto, upon a wrong Interpretation, presumed to square Opinions by theirs.

and

and have with loud Exclamations shewn their Abhorrence of an University-Education, as tainting our Youth with the Principles of *Loyalty* to Sovereigns, and an implicate Obedience to the slavish Doctrines of the Church.

As this Admonition must satisfy such who surmised, that the Majority did not approve educating Children in the University, so the unhappy Stop that hath been put to the designed *Representation*, hath given the Enemies of our Holy Religion (too numerous and politick a Party to be armed by ourselves against ourselves) a seeming Occasion to deride our Divisions: And, as if those solemn Proceedings were all but a Jest, these ungodly Persons are not afraid to be merry with the Conceit of the Upper House's dissenting from what Five of their own Members had before in a Committee agreed to in the Lower; as if they were acting a religious Farce, called, *A Convocation and no Convocation*: Nor will they believe our Bishops can have such concurrent Fears of the Growth of *Impiety*, when they do not proceed in the Means that should put an effectual Stop to it, only for a *Form*; or, to use the Words of our Church Adversaries, until the last remaining Encroachment be made by the Upper House upon the Privileges of the Lower.

THESE Reflections are Arrows in the Heart of every honest Churchman; we would recriminate in vain, our Enemies flatter themselves we lie too open for a Defence: We must therefore be content to wait with *Patience* and *Prayer*, for a Remedy to these Misfortunes, until the Lord of the Harvest, in his good Time, shall separate the Tares from the Wheat.

T H E

THE
EXAMINER.

NUMBER XLVII.

Thursday June 28, 1711.

*Consolar socios, ut Longi tædia Belli
Mente ferant placida.*

I Suppose some Wit, and much Leisure, have made it a Fashion among ingenious Persons, to send Letters, by way of Assistance, to us Weekly Writers : It is easy to imagine, that I have had my Share of such Contributions ; for which, although I be very thankful, yet I must confess, with some Vanity, that my Mind is rather burthened than relieved by those Intelligences. If I take Notice of some, and not of others, I proportionably disoblige ; however, as they fall in my Way, I promise to do what lieth in my Power towards introducing into the World the Works of those *anonymous* Persons who are so fond of being Authors.

In the first Place, out of his exceeding Zeal to the Cause, one is alarmed at the Industry of the
Whigs,

Whigs, in aiming to strengthen their *routed Party*, by a Reinforcement from the Circumcised, as not contented with *Arians*, *Socinians*, *Free-thinkers*, all sorts of *Christian Sectaries*, besides a considerable Number of *Apostates*, or, if you please, *Deserters* from our own Body ; and therefore recommends to me, that some Care may be taken to put a Stop to these *Gallimaufry Meetings*, these prohibited Conjunctions of *Jews* and *Christians* ; since, in order to bring those Infidels within the wide Circle of *Whiggish* Community, neither Blandishments nor Promises are omitted ; the very Women proving Accessaries : As for Example, a certain *Great Lady*, with some beauteous Auxiliaries, did not disdain to grace Sir *Solomon Medina's* magnificent Ball and Collation ; nor was the young Duchess (although a Toast of the first Rate) in the least disgusted at giving her Hand to dance in Partnership with a frowzy *Jew*.

ANOTHER Person sends me a Letter, complaining of the small Reputation of the QUEEN'S Physicians: This careful Person seems to belong to the Church by his Expression, where he blames the late Ministry for imitating *Jeroboam*, who ordained Priests out of the lowest of the People ; and confiding that sacred Life, *the Breath of our Nostrils*, to the Charge and Care of such Men, to whose slender Abilities they would be very far from trusting their own.

THE third cometh from a Sufferer under the late *Junto* ; one, who, remaining fully satisfied of his own Merit, repines that others have not the like valuable Estimation, and are not expeditious enough in rewarding the said Merit : He therefore recommends to me a Subject, necessary to be read by all who have Pretensions, or live in a Court, called,

The

The Nature of Delay, or the Virtues and Advantages of Procrastination.

A fourth Person is sensibly piqued at the *Medley's* popular Reflection, "That the QUEEN's most gracious Speech should be printed in *Abel's Post-Boy*, with this very just Conclusion: But we have lived to see the Day, wherein every thing Great and Illustrious among Men is treated with an unbecoming Familiarity: All Orders of Men must expect to be huddled into the vile Multitude, and used as if they had not Sense of Glory or Infamy." My Correspondent enquires, what Devil owes this *Writer* and his *Party* a Shame, to make *him* talk of a *Day*? That scandalous *Day*! when insignificant *Pages*, and forward *Attorney's Clerks* were hoisted above the Knowledge of themselves, or their Remembrance of others; not only perverting to their several Uses the Treasure of the Nation, but presuming to give Laws even to their Sovereign: That was indeed a *Day* which we have all lived to see, when all things Great and Illustrious among Men were, by arrogant Upstarts, treated not only with an unbecoming Familiarity, but with Treachery and Pride; when it might be truly said, that, under such petty, and yet arbitrary Dispensation, all Orders of Men were huddled into the vile Multitude, and used as if they had not Sense of Glory or Infamy.

THE fifth Letter recounts a scandalous Passage that happened at the Auction of the late Mr. *Bernard's* Library, and prays me to give all besitting Discouragement to such Enormities. It seems some Gentlemen were talking of a scarce Book which treated of Spirits and Apparitions: one of them asked Mr. *Toland*, what he thought of *Ghosts*? Whether he had any Belief of such Things? He readily answered, He was so far from believing *Ghosts*,
that

that he did not believe what Men call the *Holy Ghost*.

THE next (whom I shall do the Favour to shew at length, because he calls himself a *Whig*, and may possibly charge me with an unfair Quotation, if I sink any part of what he hath wrote) sends me an Invitation to come over to his Side ; but, lest this may be thought *Gasconade*, I had best refer to the original Letter.

S I R,

“ YOU have stood the Shock of the shallow
 “ Writers, aided by the best *Finishers* of our
 “ Party, with so much Reputation, and so much to
 “ their Confusion, that I, who have a Value for your
 “ Person and Abilities (but an Aversion to your
 “ Cause) advise you to renounce the *Tories*, and
 “ come over to *Us*. Their Business is done, they
 “ have no more Occasion for your Pen ; you must
 “ therefore expect to be neglected and forgotten, as
 “ your Fellow Labourers have been. Whom have
 “ they ever rewarded ? They go quite contrary to
 “ our Maxim ; none, although ever so undeserving,
 “ have suffered Imprisonment and Hardships for us,
 “ but we look on it as our common Interest to pro-
 “ tect and uphold them, because we have but *one*,
 “ the *Tories* as *many* Interests as there are Persons.
 “ Besides, in writing for the strongest Side, you have
 “ Commiseration against you : Nor need your A-
 “ postasy fear finding its Account, for the Reasons
 “ before mentioned, and one more very considera-
 “ ble, which is, that false Witnesses are always well
 “ paid. The only Objection can be made against
 “ this Proposal is, you may think perhaps you have
 “ so far incensed us by your many Discoveries of
 “ our *Arcana*, that you cannot expect to be receiv-
 “ ed

“ ed with any Degree of Warmth or Confidence.
 “ If this be your Opinion, you are a great Stranger
 “ to our Principles ; we never refuse to accept an
 “ Enemy with open Arms, when we can thereby
 “ strengthen our own, or weaken our Adversaries
 “ Party : We are so far true Politicians, that both
 “ our Love and Hatred always give way to our In-
 “ terest : But besides, all must know our own blind
 “ Side, which was never Proof against Flattery, how
 “ fulsome or unjust soever. How many Authors,
 “ with no other Merit, flourished under the late Mi-
 “ nistry ? I would therefore advise you to write a
 “ Treatise, which will be very fashionable and useful,
 “ called, *The Art of shifting Sides*, and dedicate it in
 “ these, or the like Terms :

To all Honest WHIG Gentlemen, and virtuous WHIG
 Ladies, in and about the Cities and Liberties of
London and Westminster.

Gentlemen and Ladies,

A Man who ventures to publish bold Truths in
 these Days of Toryism and Arbitrary Govern-
 ment, unless he hath a powerful Interest to support
 him, must expect to be scurvily treated by the persecut-
 ing Part of the World : Without very good Seconds
 he may shew abundance of Zeal, but little Discretion ;
 like those Knights of old, who used to plunge alone into
 the midst of armed Foes. The only Difference between
 the Courage of the Hero, and that of the Author, seems
 to lie in the Success : One meets with Tyburn, New-
 gate, or at best a Messenger ; whilst the other gal-
 lantly rescues his Mistress, or carries off the Prize.
 For this Reason I presume to apply to you for Protec-
 tion, and I hope to make my future Services atone for
 my past Offences. You are too considerable, both in

Number and Power to fear a Defeat: and too zealous of the Truth, to suffer its Champion to be borne down and trampled upon by Enemies.

Gentlemen, Your very Adversaries cannot deny but you have more Money than they, and consequently must give you up the Superiority of Wit: And, altho' they have disputed the Point of Honesty, it appears, the Balance now lies entirely on your Side: witness the many unanswerable Steps you have taken for the Good of the Nation, the Wonders of your late Administration, your Respect and Honour for the true Interest of your QUEEN and Country, your Concern for the Publick Credit, and your Readiness to advance Money upon great Emergencies, where the Safety of the State so eminently required it.

Ladies, Were your Plea to Virtue and Beauty less evident, you might stand more in need of a Champion, but I never heard any who durst presume to say, you have more Virtue than Beauty, or less Humility than Prudence; you shine in your Zeal for the Cause, and your Condescension is so bright a Part of your Character, that there are few Men, how despicable soever, but what have found the happy Effects of it.

S I R,

“ By my Intimacy and Station among them, I have
 “ so exact a Knowledge of what will please, that I
 “ have sent you this rough Draught, which I will
 “ undertake to be the universal Sense of our Party;
 “ only leaving you to model it after such a Manner,
 “ as you think best. I hope you will not defer your
 “ Conversion, but conclude this a Mark of my Kind-
 “ nefs for you. Pray, make your Advantage of this
 “ Advice, and you will very much rejoice,

S I R,

Your affectionate Friend,
 And humble Servant

THE
EXAMINER.

NUMBER XLVIII.

Thursday, July 12, 1711.

——— *Neque semper arcum
Tendit Apollo.*

IT sometimes happens, that I am either Sick, or Lazy, or Splenetick ; and sometimes, perhaps, like other Authors of great Reputation, I am dull by Design. In such un lucid Intervals it falls out, that three or four of my Papers are inferior to the rest : However, the Credit of the former keeps them up a while ; and even judicious People are often prejudiced for a Week or two in their Favour ; or perhaps are so candid to expect a better next Time. But the Majority of Readers go on with the same Appetite, whether the Paper be good or bad, until they are taught by their Betters what their Sentiments are to be. It thus fares between me and the *Medley*, who, although he hath been always so liberal with his Epithets, as if he had them

Vol. VII. U by

by him ready printed, and had nothing to do every Week but fill up the Blanks; yet, in one or two of his last Papers he hath outdone himself, because some body hath told him that the *Examiner* is grown dull. I fear they have told him Truth: And how can it be otherwise, when I am descended from animadverting upon the Corruptions in the late Administration, to be an Antagonist of his? I had Hopes of giving some Diversion to the Town and myself, during this idle Season of the Year, by exposing the Follies of his Productions; but find I have been unhappily infected with the Stupidity I designed to ridicule. This *Medler* is the perfect Reverse of Sir *John Falstaffe*; he is not only dull himself, but he is also the Cause that Dulness is in other Men. However, I think I have found out a Way to read his Papers, from henceforward, without Danger to my Understanding; and therefore I now give him Notice, that I design to write with Wit and Spirit for some Time; which otherwise he would hardly apprehend until about a Month hence.

He hath injured me in saying, *I insult her Majesty's Physicians*. I only repeat the Words of my Correspondent. If the QUEEN discards her present Physicians, he is at a Loss how we shall find *Tories* to supply their Places; *because*, he assures us, *the Tories are as great Quacks in Science as in Politicks*. If the Trial of Quackery must be determined by Skill in Politicks, I dare appeal to the Whig Physicians themselves, to decide which are the Quacks; and whether the *Tories* of the Faculty have not made much better Prognosticks upon the Body Politick, by chusing to adhere to the present Ministry.

AND

AND, if Respect to the QUEEN's Person be the Question; the *Medley* sure is not well in his Wits, to revive the Memory of that Defect, for which some of his Party have been famous. Suppose him really ignorant; upon ever so little Recollection of any of his Friends, he may quickly be informed, which Side have the best Pretence that Way to Favour; since this Writer, and I am glad to find it, can admit, Reverence and Duty to her Majesty are, although late, come to be considered as a sort of Merit.

METHINKS this Person, who will be my Friend whether I will or no, puts himself and me to much more Trouble than he needs: If he would fairly cavil with me, Paper by Paper, and then have done, there might be some Hopes; but without End, I am to be perpetually worried, and punished this Month for the Sins of the last; so that it is not properly *This Medley contra that Examiner*, but every *Medley* against every *Examiner*. When he seems this Week to say all that his little Invention and Spight can supply, and I may safely conclude, he hath exhausted the Subject; he returns, when I least dream of him, with stale Malice and double Dulness, to empty that Quiver which he hath filled with Arrows from abroad. But when his merciless Auxiliaries are withdrawn, some to Pleasure, others to debate how to retrieve by Caballing, what they lost by ill Conduct; or are amused by fawning at Court; or disabled by the Disorders of a broken Constitution; this harmless Person abates very much of the Poignancy of his Satyr.

WHILST I was thus reflecting upon this famous *Monitor*, my Printer brought me several Letters, but not all of them wrote by myself to the *Exa-*

aminer, as the sagacious *Medley* suggests, with his humble Advice, that it would not be amiss to print more frequently those Letters I daily receive. His old Way of judging of the Goodness by the Sale, made him extol that Paper, wherein I had lately obliged so many of my Correspondents, protesting that since the *Roman* Triumph, or what he calls the *Laurel Crown*, and *Marcus Crassus*, he had not had a greater Call for any particular *Examiner*. The Reason seemed plain : The underhand Endeavours of my Fellow-Writers have succeeded ; the concurrent Interest of many Authors must be much more prevailing than that of one ; in Consideration of which, I resolved upon that easy Method of filling up a Paper, and at the same Time obliging a Friend.

THE first Letter complains, with Justice, of the great Neglect I have been guilty of, in letting the *Medley* boast himself so long upon the Clause in the *Act of Indemnity*, relating to the Receivers of the Revenue. He exhorts me to read carefully the Act at length ; where, he assures me, I shall find the requisite Sanction included, although couched in other Terms ; from whence he infers, that whatever Cunning was requisite to the drawing up the said Act, he needs not be a *Volpone* to discover the Intent. He begs me to take this Matter into *Examination*, which I promise him shortly to do, although to the abolishing my Antagonist's witty Advertisement, and confirming my own Opinion, That a cunning Knave will sooner commit an hundred Crimes (although of as black a Dye) that come within a Hair's Breadth of the Gallows ; than one clumsy one, by which he may be made to mount it.

THE second Letter is of such a Length, that I am sorry it cannot be inserted here : I find it so ingenious, that I do not think fit to abridge it. The Gentleman treats, with a Description very delicate, of the Art of Courts ; or the Means by which treacherous Enemies are to a Miracle transformed into faithful Friends, professed Admirers, and most obsequious Flatterers ; with the great Secret how to overcome that scrupulous Modesty, which deters some few from imitating the rest, and embracing with open Arms those, whom, heretofore, they would have destroyed.

A THIRD draws up a very pathetick Representation of the Hardships inflicted upon a Reverend Divine, late Chaplain of *Morden College* upon *Black-Heath*, for no other Reason, but his being an honest *Tory*, and truly Orthodox. And really the Management seems so unfair, that if, upon an exact Enquiry, I find the Facts to be true ; such as their letting Part of the said College to a Coffee-house ; reducing the Number of twenty decay'd Merchants to twelve, and those Dissenters ; although the Founder obliged his Trustees to no such Limitation, assigning twenty Pounds a Year for each Person ; which is also reduced to twelve Pounds *per Annum* : If, I say, these Facts prove true, I shall not fail to take a proper Time to set them in the best Lights I am able.

A FIFTH, with gilt Paper, neat Wax, and under Cover, dates his Remonstrance from the Drawing-Room ; and in a courtly Style, which I am not polite enough to imitate, sets forth the Vicissitude of human Things, the Change of Manners and Fashions ; seems with Pleasure, yet Regret, to call to Memory an Age, wherein possibly himself might flourish,

in which the Modes that now obtain, would not have been endured : In short, he appears extremely shocked at the Conduct of two *Great Ladies*, who took the Liberty to behave themselves in the QUEEN's Presence, before a full Court, as if they had been at Ease in their own *Rules*, with none but inferior Persons about them. Reverence, Distinction, Decency, were made only for little People ; these Ladies are above the Punctilio of Laws and Customs : Their own Charms, the Merit of their Ancestors, their Gratitude, Greatness of Soul, Respect and Duty to their Sovereign, may support Irregularity in their Posterity.

I HOPE the *Medley* will allow these Passages may have been extracted out of *real* Letters ; since I could as well have produced them for my own. Be that as it will, I am glad he allows me to keep so good a Correspondence with myself. His Censure, if it be true, amounts to no more than this ; that I am so far from being obliged to others for my Matter, as to be forced to father my own upon those who will please to accept it ; wherein I differ as much from him, as one who steals Money into his Neighbour's Pocket, doth from a Rogue who picks it out.



THE
EXAMINER.

NUMBER XLIX.

Thursday, July 19, 1711.

Avaritia fidem, probitatem, cæterasque bonas artes subvertit ; pro iis superbiam, crudelitatem, Deos negligere, & omnia venalia habere edocuit.

I CONSIDER myself grown a very useleſs Writer ; but it was no more than I foreſaw, when I firſt began with the *Medley*. I knew my Paper would inſenſibly dwindle into the Thing himſelf and his Party deſired ; and my Time be loſt in managing a Diſpute fruitleſs to the Town, and inſignificant even to ourſelves. He is reſolved not to be convinced, nor I to be perverted ; he hath ſtill his Prompters, and I my Readers ; we both are where we began ; he will yet continue to animadvert falſly, and I deſign henceforward to take no more Notice of what he writes, than Men are uſed to do by notorious Liars ; who, if they ever happen to ſpeak Truth, muſt bring other Vouchers than themſelves, to gain that Belief, which

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their

their continued Course of Falsity hath justly robbed them of, from the Publick.

I HAD perhaps closed my Papers with this, and taken Leave until the Meeting of the Parliament; pleased to leave Affairs in so quiet and promising a Condition, had I not met with a very scarce Manuscript out of a certain Library. I believe the Translation of Part of it will not be unacceptable to the Town. The Author is that famous *Italian, Giovanni Adolbrandi*, who made it his particular Request that his Works might never be printed. The Manuscript I speak of, is called *Marcus Antoninus*, wrote in the same sort of Verse with the *Rinaldo* of *Tasso*, whose Senior he was: The Passage I would translate, is *Fulvia's* going to the House of *Pride*, to implore the Succour of the Goddess towards ruining the Virtue of *Agrippa*, the Favourite of *Augustus*. There are so many parallel Incidents in the Description, that I am tempted to believe our famous *Spencer* had read this Poem, when he gave the World his fourth Canto of the first Book of his *Fairy Queen*.

THE Author introduceth *Dolabella* telling the History of the Triumvirate; *Lepidus's* Removal, *Antony's* Behaviour in the East; and *Octavius's* Government at *Rome*, when he had called *Agrippa* to assist him in the Management of Affairs; whose Wisdom and great Abilities proved destructive to the Hopes that *Antony's* Friends had entertained of seeing him sole Arbitrator of the Empire. *Fulvia*, the Wife of *Antony*, is recorded by *Plutarch* to be a bold and enterprizing Woman; our Poet enters very well into her Character; where *Dolabella* relates that he beheld in his Journey a stupendous Palace, with a broad High-way, made bare by the

Number

Number of Passengers, who hourly travelled that Way ; few of whom ever returned, but such whom Poverty had reduced : The Avenues were filled with Beggars, who, although in Rags and Ruins, retained their former Air and Deportment : When they required your Charity, it was still with a vaunting Introduction of what they had been.

APPROACHING nearer, I saw (continued he) two busy Persons, gaily habited, entertaining the Crowd that were in the broad Road ; these were *Flattery* and *Folly* ; the first made herself acceptable by Excess of Compliance, and perpetual Praises ; for such was her Industry, that she left not even *Vice*, without its Applause, endearing to the Wearers their very Defects : *Folly* was no less assiduous in bespeaking Credit of her Sister, assuring her, that whatever was spoke by *Flattery* was indisputable. In this delightful Conversation, the Travellers passed happily on to the *Palace*, where they were met by *Vanity*, who with much Applause and Ceremony, which they took for Respect, conducted them into the House of *Pride*.

THIS dazzling, unwieldy Structure was built amidst the Tears and Groans of a People harrassed with a lingering War, to gratify the Ambition of a *Subject* ; while the *Sovereign's Palace* lay in *Asbes*. It was dedicated, from the first Foundation, to the Goddess of *Pride* ; the Building excessive *costly*, but not *artful* : The *Architect* seemed to consider how to be most profuse, and therefore neglected an advantageous Eminence (made proper by Nature) to build one a Quarter of a Mile short of it, at the vain Expence of fifty Millions of Sesterces. There were to be seen stately *Towers*, noble *Portico's*, ample *Piazas's*, and well-turned *Pillars*, without one hand-
some

some Room, unless you will call the Kitchen and Cellars such ; which Parts of the House happen to be of very little or no Use to the *parsimonious* Founder ; a Number of Chambers, but none convenient ; fine Gardens without Water ; the whole Building raised upon a sandy Foundation ; every Breath from Court, every Blast puffed away some Grains of that huge fleeting Hill, upon which the Palace was erected.

HERE the Goddess kept her Court within an inner Chamber, into which Passengers were conducted : She was seated upon a *Throne*, raised under a *Canopy* within an *Alcove* ; whoever gazed on her, seldom beheld any thing with Approbation but themselves ; her Beauty was mixed with Disdain, and well expressed her inward Contempt for inferior Objects ; she fixed her Eyes upwards, unless when by Intervals they were cast upon a *Mirror* she held in her Hand, which reflected back her own Charms, the only Image wherein she took Delight.

MY Attention, as well as that of the whole Assembly, was suddenly taken off from the Goddess, and transferred to a Lady, who with Precipitation broke through the Crowd, and made directly to the Throne. Although past her Meridian, her Bloom was succeeded by so graceful an Air, that Youth could scarce make her more desirable : Her fair Hair was tucked under a *Tiara* of Jewels made in the Fashion of a CORONET. If her Beauty prepossessed us to her Advantage, we were not less terrified in beholding the Company she was in : On one Side marched *Envy*, lashing her with Whips and *Snakes* ; giving her to drink by Intervals from a Cup of Wine mingled with Gall and Wormwood :
Her

Her other Supporter was *Wrath*, who continually tossed a flaming Brand, directing her Sight to a Dagger which he held; his Looks ghastly, his Limbs trembling, his Body half exposed, the rest cloathed with a Robe stained with Blood, and torn by his own Fury, which was so fierce he could not restrain it sometimes from falling upon himself. His Breath was incessantly applied to the Lady's Spleen and Brain, from whence violent Agonies and raging Phrensies succeeded, as was evident by a *Toss* and Motion as particular as wonderful.

SHE was attired in a *Crimson Robe*, edged with *Ermine*, and buckled with Diamonds; her Train borne by one who had formerly been her Master of the Ceremonies, and who, under the false Title of *Good Establishment*, had introduced her with Applause into the World; yet, having made the Fortune of his Votary, he was no longer solicitous to preserve Appearances, but submitted to be called by his true Name *Ingratitude*.

THE Goddeffs not only vouchsafed her a gracious Look, but gave her Hand to the Lady, who was named *Fulvia*; after a tender Embrace she seated her by herself on the Throne, called her *Conqueress* in Right of her Husband, Daughter, Favourite, her Representative, her other self; bid her name her Distress, and depend upon her for Relief.

FULVIA with Sighs told the Goddeffs, that from a Prospect of being the most happy Person, she was become the most miserable. The Laurels daily fading upon the Brow of her absent Lord, their Partizans wholly removed from *Augustus's* Favour, and, which was worse, *Agrippa*, a Person of fatal Virtue, destructive to the Ambition of her Party, was trusted with the sole Management of Af-

fairs, notwithstanding their mighty Cabals and hourly Intrigues, to retrieve the Power they had lost. *Agrippa's* Reputation was mounted to a Pitch, that she could not behold and live; those two Tormentors, *Wrath* and *Envy*, giving her no Remission until he were destroyed. She therefore besought the Goddesses, since false Reports, Treachery, and Assassinations had failed, that she would go herself, and take *Avarice* along with *Titles* and *Wealth*, to puff up his Soul, and destroy his Virtues, that he might fall as herself and other Favourites had done, by the Sin of Pride and the Love of Riches.

To whom the Goddesses replied: It is not the least of my Troubles that I must tell you, your Request is vain: I have attempted enlarging our Empire by the Accession of so powerful a Person as *Agrippa*; I applied the Charms of Wealth and Luxury; I applied myself; but he is more abstemious, more sedate than before. I beheld the hateful Goddesses of *Virtue* encircling him with her protecting Wings; I heard her tell him, she would direct his Steps, and never forsake him; that the Empire should flourish at its greatest Height under his Administration; that *Pride* should be defeated, *Avarice* return baffled and ashamed; his Hoards inviolable: That the Uprightness of his Manners, his extensive Soul, and vast Capacity, should make him a Name, which the Race of Favourites, for Time immemorial, should think it their Glory to be called by; whereas History had not hitherto delivered down one, but where the Parallel would be, in some Parts, an Injustice to his Character, as if unbounded Power, and solid Virtue, had been irreconcilable until met in *Agrippa*.

BUT,

BUT, my beloved Daughter, that Virtue we cannot corrupt may yet be eclipsed : We will cause Distrust and Impatience to enter into the Minds of his Party ; they shall fear what they ought to reverence : Those prodigious Qualifications that distinguish *Agrippa*, may be turned against him ; whilst his very Foes admire his Abilities, we will make his Friends miscall his Wisdom, *Cunning*. Although he be incessantly working for the Good of the Empire, they shall be hoodwinked to those Advantages. Neither new Seas explored, nor Countries discovered and subdued ; the heavy Debts of the Empire discharged ; Credit restored ; Peace brought home to their Dwelling ; Trade secure, and flourishing, shall overcome those Suspensions and bad Impressions we will make upon the People. Your *Faction*, vigilant and bold, shall disperse false Reports ; *Antony's* Zeal must languish, let him attempt no farther for the Good of the Empire, but his own. Those two Demons that haunt you shall be appeased, Revenge be satiated, offer upon his Altars, and supplicate the Goddess of *Discord*, that she may disappear from among you, and more effectually possess your Enemies.



THE
EXAMINER.

NUMBER L.

Thursday, July 28, 1711.

*Sed nos immensam spatiis confecimus æquor,
Et jam tempus equum fumantia solvere colla.*

NOW that I have completed the Number of my Papers, and, for the Space of a Year, done my Country what Service lay in the Power of an honest, although concealed Pen; I shall take my Leave of the Town, with particular Thanks for its Favour; and some Acknowledgment to the *Modley*, for so constantly explaining what he thought my Meaning in any dark Allusions, or Allegories; and retire myself from the Fatigue of Politicks and State-Reflections, until some more urgent Occasion again call forth my Endeavours.

It is very difficult, in an interested World, for any one to be thought free from those Views that influence others: There are so few Persons content
to

to sacrifice their own Good to that of the Publick, that I do not wonder to have a wrong Interpretation put upon my Labours ; and myself, although entirely otherwise, accused as directing them to some mercenary End ; and full of the Desire of making my Fortune, by Application to the *prevailing Party* : But let such, who are my Accusers, remember, that this Paper was begun whilst yet the *late Ministry* were at the Helm, and nothing but their Mismanagement to prognosticate their Loss of Power.

To those who have complained, that my Writings were not always equal, the Spirit the same, or the Matter so entertaining, let such begin to consider, my Business was to *instruct*, I would not descend to *divert* : I was neither a *Plautus*, nor a *Moliere* ; I did not so much as pretend to *Wit*, much less *Buffoonry* : I went not in pursuit of a Laugh, but confined myself to one Subject, and that a very serious one. How extreme difficult it is to succeed often upon the like Topick, I leave to the Consideration of the Judicious ; who know how hard it is to vary the same Discourse, and admit of frequent Repetition without being cloyed ; with which I have no Reason to tax my Readers, since the Printer tells me, the Sale of my Paper is not at all diminished, nor its Reputation fallen : Which, I must confess, were Temptation enough for me to continue it, if I had mercenary Views, or were not the End proposed already answered ; which makes me chuse, although perhaps not quite so civilly, to rise of myself, and leave my Guests with an Appetite for more, rather than stay till they should call to take away.

AND

AND, notwithstanding the Charge that hath so often been brought against me, with an Intent to wound *Great Men* through my Side ; of my being a contemptible Hireling, and a little mercenary Fellow, without Probity or Principles ; one whose Actions were directed by others, from whence the Machine talked and moved, as conducted by higher Hands ; I solemnly declare, I am still as much unknown to the Leaders of our own Party, as to the others ; and very likely to remain so, as long as I please myself ; notwithstanding the wise Remarks of the *Observer*, and the Guesses made by the judicious *Medley*.

AMONG the many Pretenders in this Town, you can hardly produce me one, who will not undertake to discover, and point out the Difference of Style, and Manner of Thinking, peculiar to the several Men of Wit. The Pamphlet is certainly from such a Hand ; they know his Manner perfectly. That Paper of Verses is infallibly of such a Poet, no Man in *England* could write it but he ; and this sometimes even upon the first Essay of an Author. I, among the rest, used to determine formerly at the same Rate ; but shall be more cautious for the future, having seen the World, and myself, so often and so wretchedly mistaken. How many Fathers has this Paper of mine be ascribed to : Among all the Men of Wit, who are in the Interest of the present Ministry, I know not one who hath escaped some Report of Suspicion of being the Author. The *Medley* hath guessed round ; and, from his Skill in that Part of *Learning* called *Dog's Logick*, thought he would infallibly hit upon it at last. Thus he hath done what he would have us think is an Injury to several innocent Persons ; and if the *Examiner* be a
stupid,

stupid, false, and slanderous Paper, as he Weekly affirms, I think he is bound, in Conscience and common Justice, to repair the Injury he hath done to the Reputation of those worthy Persons he hath falsely entitled it to, and who have never given him the least Provocation for any such Calumny.

THE judicious Reader cannot but observe how weak that Cause must be, which the joint Endeavours of their Party have not been able to defend, against an unknown Person; who hath had nothing but *naked Truth* to oppose to whole Armies of complicated Falshoods and Malice; yet, supported by the Goodness of the Cause, I have waded through Seas of Scurrility, without being polluted by any of that Filth they have incessantly cast at me. I have neither misrepresented Persons nor Things; nay, out of Tenderness, have often forbörn to shew their weakest Side. I appeal to all impartial Men, whether Time hath not discovered more Abuses in the Management of the late Ministry, than the *Examiner* could expose. The Facts are now so obvious and uncontroverted, that, I presume, there is no need of a *Monitor* to point out those Things, to which every Man is become capable of directing himself.

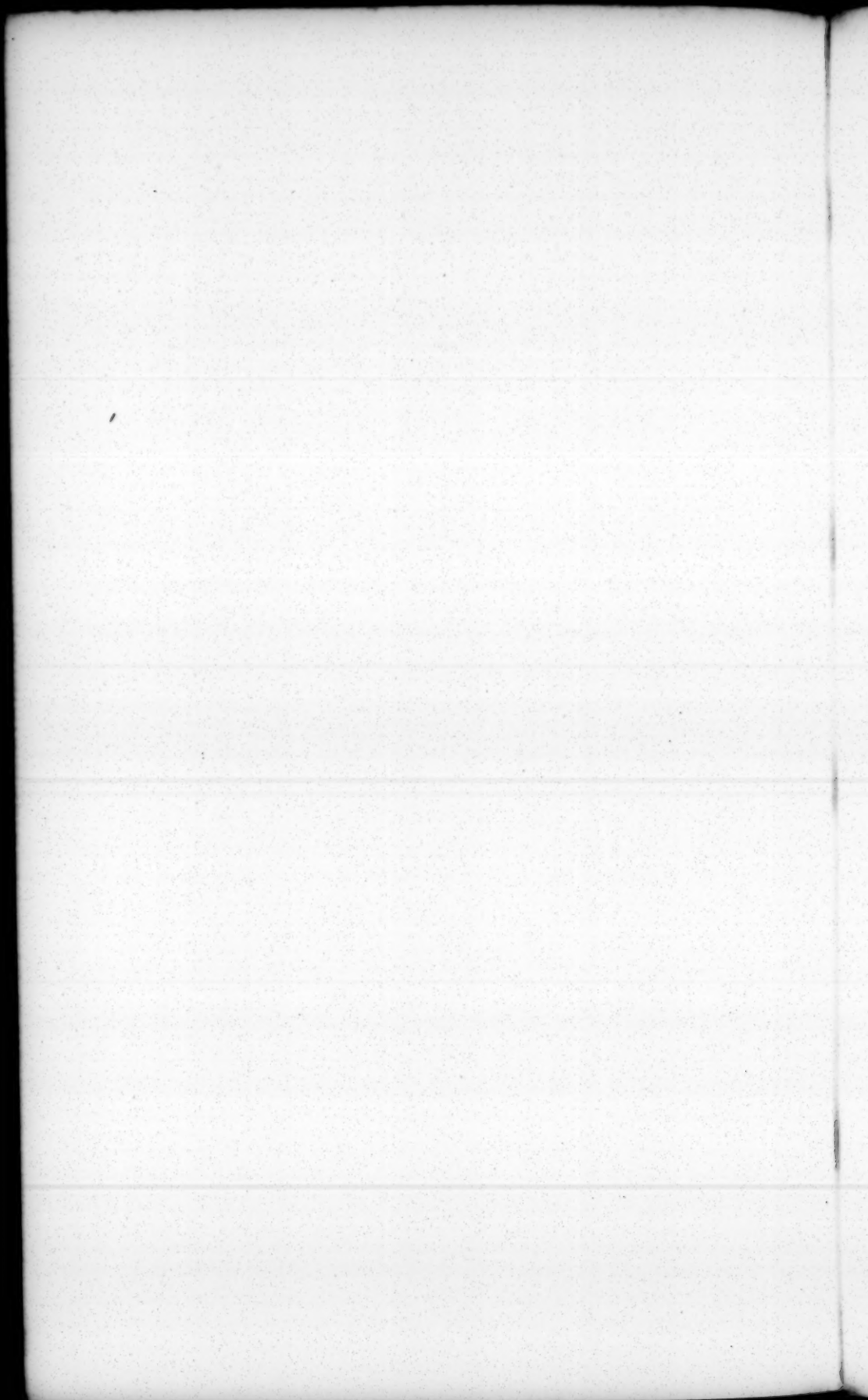
OF all the doubtful Steps that I have taken in the Conduct of this Design, there is none for which I so much blame myself, as first descending to take Notice and talk to those wretched Adverlaries that have Weekly fought against me; it was putting myself upon a Level with such, whose Design and mine were entirely opposite: I was fired by the Love of my Country, and that noble Ardour which conducts us through a thousand Difficulties in the pursuit of Justice. My Attempt was to discover Abuses, theirs to conceal them: I pursued Truth; they openly ad-

hered to Falshood : My Pen was valued for its Sincerity ; theirs despised for Difingenuity : And yet I was so weak to enter the Lifts, merely to satisfy those Friends, who became uneasy at their not being opposed, and could not account for my Neglect : A Fault many have been guilty of, in Consideration of others, although against a Man's better Sense and Reasoning ; as I could instance in several Things, and particularly in one Example out of *Plutarch*, if the Comparifon may not be thought too great a Presumption. It is that of *Pompey* the Great, who ventured a Battle with *Cæsar*, when it was not his Interest, " merely because he was a Man of that Honour and Modesty he could not bear a Reproach ; " neither would he disoblige his Friends, but broke " his own Measures, and forsook his prudent Resolutions, to follow their vain Hope and Desire." How much more commendable was the Constancy of *Phocion*, who, when the *Athenians* urged him at an unseasonable Time to fall upon the Enemy, peremptorily refused ; and, being upbraided by them with Cowardice and Pusillanimity, told them, *Gentlemen, we understand one another very well ; you cannot make me valiant at this Time, nor I you wise.*

BUT it is Time to have done with such worthless Combatants : If I have not foiled them, I am certain they have not hurt me, any otherwise than in my own Opinion, for attempting to engage them. I shall conclude with observing the Beauty of that Prospect which lies before me, and for which I congratulate with all my Countrymen ; the Security to our Religion and happy Constitution, under our most pious QUEEN, her excellent Parliament, and able Ministry ; which to speak of one by one, would be a Volume, not a Sheet. Methinks I behold the

younger *Cato* in *Mr. St. John* ; all that Love for his Country, that Contempt of Danger, and Greatness of Soul : Of whom it is said, “ It was not for Honour, nor Riches, nor rashly, nor by Chance, that he engaged himself in the Affairs of State ; but he undertook the Service of the Publick as the proper Business of an honest Man ; and therefore he thought himself obliged to be as diligent for the Good of that, as a Bee for the Preservation of her Hive.”

By our well governed Strength at Home, we are now beginning to be truly formidable to our Enemies abroad. *France* was never so busy in searching Expedients that may incline towards a Peace ; they find it is become their Interest to be sincere ; nothing but the unexpected Death of the Emperor, and that distracted State of Northern Affairs, which at this Time threatens a Breach in the Confederacy, and the Seeds of which Mischief have been so long sown, could prevent our finding the speedy Effects of it. All but those who are wilfully blind, and bigotted to a Party, plainly see the Advantage of the Change that hath been made ; altho', considering the Circumstances of a tedious War, I am so far willing to comply with some Gentlemen, as to admit there was a Hazard in it, inasmuch as a *Civil War is worse than any Tyranny* : From whence I take Leave to hope we shall not easily repeat the Danger ; and since all Changes are not good, let us change no more.



SOME
A D V I C E
Humbly offered to the
M E M B E R S
O F T H E
OCTOBER CLUB.

In a LETTER from a PERSON
of HONOUR.

WRITTEN in the YEAR MDCCXI.



T H E

PUBLISHER'S PREFACE.

ABOUT the Year when her late Majesty, of blessed Memory, thought proper to change her Ministry and brought in Mr. Harley, Mr. St. John, Sir Simon Harcourt, and some others ; the first of these being made an Earl and Lord Treasurer, he was soon after blamed by his Friends, for not making a general Sweep of all the Whigs, as the latter did of their Adversaries, upon her Majesty's Death, when they came into Power. At that Time a great Number of Parliament Men, amounting to above two Hundred, grew so warm upon the Slowness of the Treasurer in this Part, that they formed themselves into a Body, under the Name of the October Club, and had many Meetings, to consult upon some Methods that might spur on those in Power, so that they might make a quicker Dispatch in removing all of the Whig Leaven from the Employments they still possessed. To prevent the ill Consequences of this Discontent among so many worthy Members, the rest of the Ministry joined with the Treasurer, partly to pacify, and partly to divide those who were in greater Haste than moderate Men thought convenient. It was well known, that the supposed Author met a considerable Number of this Club in a publick House, where he convinced them very plainly of the Treasurer's Sincerity, with many of those very Reasons, which are urged in the following Discourse, besides some others, which were not so proper to appear at that Time in Print.

The Treasurer alledged in his Defence, that such a Treatment would not consist with Prudence, because there were many Employments to be bestowed, which required Skill and Practice; that several Gentlemen who possessed them, had been long versed, very loyal to her Majesty, had never been violent Party Men, and were ready to fall into all honest Measures for the Service of their Queen and Country: But, however, as Offices became vacant, he would humbly recommend to her Majesty such Gentlemen, whose Principles with regard both to Church and State, his Friends would approve of, and he would be ready to accept their Recommendations. Thus the Earl proceeded in procuring Employments for those who deserved them by their Honesty, and Abilities to execute them; which I confess to have been a Singularity not very likely to be imitated. However, the Gentlemen of this Club still continued uneasy that no quicker Progress was made in Removals, until those who were least violent, began to soften a little, or by dividing them, the whole Affair dropped. During this Difficulty, we have been assured, that the following Discourse was very seasonably published with great Success, shewing the Difficulties that the Earl of Oxford lay under, and his real Desire, that all Persons in Employment should be true loyal Churchmen, zealous for her Majesty's Honour and Safety, as well as for the Succession in the House of Hanover if the Queen should happen to die without Issue. This Discourse, having been published about the Year 1711, and many of the Facts forgotten, would not have been generally understood without some Explanation, which we have now endeavoured to give, because it seems a Point of History too material to be lost. We owe this Piece of Intelligence to an Intimate of the supposed Author.

SOME

SOME
ADVICE
Humbly offered to the
MEMBERS
OF THE
OCTOBER CLUB.

GENTLEMEN,

SINCE the first Institution of your Society, I have always thought you capable of the greatest Things. Such a Number of Persons, Members of Parliament, true Lovers of our Constitution in Church and State, meeting at certain Times, and mixing Business and Conversation together, without the Forms and Constraint necessary to be observed in publick Assemblies, must very much improve each other's Understanding, correct and fix your Judgment, and prepare yourselves against

gainst any Designs of the opposite Party. Upon the opening of this Session, an Incident hath happened, to provide against the Consequences whereof will require your utmost Vigilance and Application. All this last Summer the Enemy was working under Ground, and laying their Train; they gradually became more frequent and bold in their Pamphlets and Papers, while those on our Side were dropped, as if we had no farther Occasion for them. Some Time before, an Opportunity fell into their Hands, which they have cultivated ever since; and thereby have endeavoured, in some Sort, to turn those Arts against us, which had been so effectually employed to their Ruin: A plain Demonstration of their superior Skill at Intrigue; to make a Stratagem succeed a second Time; and this even against those who first tried it upon them. I know not whether this Opportunity I have mentioned could have been prevented by any Care, without straining a very *tender Point*, which those chiefly concerned avoided by all Means, because it might seem a Counterpart of what they had so much condemned in their Predecessors; although it is certain the two Cases were widely different; and if Policy had once got the better of Good-nature, all had been safe, for there was no other Danger in View: But the Consequences of this were foreseen from the Beginning; and those who *kept the Watch*, had early Warning of it. It would have been a Master-piece of Prudence, in this Case, to have made a *Friend* of an *Enemy*. But whether that were possible to be compassed, or whether it were ever attempted, is now too late to enquire. All Accommodation was rendered desperate by an unlucky Proceeding some
Months

Months ago at *Windsor*, which was a Declaration of War too frank and generous for that Situation of Affairs; and, I am told, was not approved by a certain great Minister. It was obvious to suppose, that in a Particular, where the Honour and Interest of a *Husband* were so closely united with those of a *Wife*, he might be sure of her utmost Endeavours for his Protection, although she neither loved nor esteemed him. The Danger of losing Power, Favour, Profit, and a Shelter from *Domestick Tyranny*, were strong Incitements to stir up a working Brain, early practised in all the Arts of Intriguing. Neither is it safe to count upon the Weakness of any Man's Understanding, who is thoroughly possessed with the Spirit of Revenge to sharpen his Invention: Nothing else is required besides *Obsequiousness* and *Affiduity*; which, as they are often the Talents of those who have no better, so, they are apt to make Impressions upon the *best* and *greatest* Minds.

It was no small Advantage to the *designing Party*, that since the Adventure at *Windsor*, the *Person on whom we so much depend*, was long absent by Sickness; which hindered him from pursuing those Measures, that Ministers are in Prudence forced to take, to defend their Country and themselves against an irritated Faction. The *Negotiators* on the other Side improved this favourable Conjuncture to the utmost; and by an unparallel'd Boldness, accompanied with many Falshoods, persuaded certain Lords, who were already in the same Principle, but were afraid of making a wrong Step, lest it should *lead them out of their Coaches into the Dirt*; that voting, in Appearance, against the Court, would be the safest

safest Course to avoid the Danger they most apprehended, which was that of losing their Pensions; and their Opinions, when produced, would, by seemingly contradicting their Interest, have an Appearance of Virtue into the Bargain. This, with some Arguments of more *immediate Power*, went far in producing that strange unexpected Turn we have so lately seen, and from which our Adversaries reckoned upon such wonderful Effects; and some of them, particularly my Lord Chief Justice, began to act as if all were already in their Power.

BUT, although the more immediate Causes of this Desertion were what I have above related, yet, I am apt to think, it would hardly have been attempted, or at least not have succeeded, but for a prevailing Opinion, that the Church Party and the Ministers had different Views, or at least were not so firmly united as they ought to have been. It was commonly said, and, I suppose, not without some Ground of Truth, that many Gentlemen of your Club were discontented to find so *little done*; that they thought it looked as if People were *not in earnest*; that they expected to see a *thorough Change*, with respect to Employments; and although every Man could not be provided for, yet when all Places were filled with Persons of good Principles, there would be fewer Complaints, and less Danger from the other Party; that this Change was hoped for all last Summer, and even to the Opening of the Session, yet nothing done. On the other Hand, it was urged by some, in Favour of the Ministry, that it was impossible to find Employments for one *Pretender* in twenty; and therefore, in gratifying one, nineteen would be disobliged; but while all had leave
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to hope, they would all endeavour to deserve: But this again was esteemed a very shallow Policy, which was too easily seen through, must soon come to an End, and would cause a general Discontent; with twenty other Objections, to which it was liable. And indeed, considering the short Life of Ministers in our Climate, it was with some Reason thought a little hard, that those, for whom any Employment was intended, should, by such a Delay, be probably deprived of half their Benefit; not to mention, that a Ministry is best confirmed, when all inferior Officers are in its Interest.

I HAVE set this Cause of Complaint in the strongest Light, although my Design is to endeavour that it should have no Manner of Weight with you, as, I am confident, our Adversaries counted upon, and do still expect to find mighty Advantages by it.

BUT it is necessary to say something to this Objection, which in all Appearance lieth so hard upon the present Ministry. What shall I offer upon so tender a Point? How shall I convey an Answer that none will apprehend, except those for whom I intend it? I have often pitied the Condition of great Ministers upon several Accounts; but never so much upon any, as when their Duty obliges them to bear the Blame and Envy of Actions, for which they will not be answerable in the next World, although they dare not convince the present, until it is too late. This Letter is sent you, *Gentlemen*, from no mean Hand, nor from a Person uninformed, although for the rest as little concerned in Point of Interest for any Change of Ministry, as most others of his Fellow-Subjects. I may therefore assume so much to myself, as to desire you will depend upon

upon it, that a short Time will make manifest, how little the Defect you complain of, ought to lie at *that Door* where your Enemies would be glad to see you place it. The wisest Man, who is not very near the Spring of Affairs, but views them only in their Issues and Events, will be apt to fix Applauses and Reproaches in the wrong Place; which is the true Cause of a Weakness that I never yet knew Great Ministers without; I mean their being deaf to all Advice: For, if a Person of the best Understanding offers his Opinion in a Point where he is not Master of all the Circumstances (which perhaps are not to be told) it is a hundred to one, but he runs into an Absurdity: From whence it is, that Ministers falsely conclude themselves to be equally wiser than others in general Things, where the common Reason of Mankind ought to be the Judge; and is probable less biassed than theirs. I have known a great Man of excellent Parts, blindly pursue a Point of no Importance, against the Advice of every Friend he had, until it ended in his Ruin. I have seen great Abilities rendered utterly useless, by unaccountable and unnecessary Delay, and by Difficulty of Access, by which a thousand Opportunities are suffered to escape. I have observed the *strongest Shoulders* to sink under too great a Load of Business, for want of dividing a due Proportion among others. These, and more that might be named, are obvious Failings, which every rational Man may be allowed to discern, as well as lament; and wherein the wisest Minister may receive Advice from others of inferior Understanding. But in those Actions where we are not thoroughly informed of all the Motives and Circumstances, it is hardly possible,
that

that our Judgment should not be mistaken. I have often been one of the Company, where we have all blamed a Measure taken, which hath afterward proved the only one that could possibly have succeeded. Nay, I have known those very Men, who have formerly been in the Secret of Affairs, when a new Set of People hath come in, offering their Refinements and Conjectures, in a very plausible Manner; upon what was passing, and widely err in all they advanced.

WHATEVER Occasions may have been given for Complaints, that *enough hath not been done*, those Complaints should not be carried so far as to make us *forget what hath been done*, which at first was a great deal more than we hoped, or thought practicable; and you may be assured, that so much Courage and Address were not employed in the Beginning of so great a Work, without a Resolution of carrying it through, as fast as Opportunities would offer. Any of the most sanguine Gentlemen in your Club would gladly have compounded two Years ago, to have been assured of seeing Affairs in the present Situation: It is principally to the Abilities of *one great Man*, that you, *Gentlemen*, owe the Happiness of meeting together, to cultivate good Principles, and form yourselves into a Body for defending your Country against a restless and dangerous Faction. It is to the *same* we all owe that mighty Change in the most important Posts of the Kingdom; that we see the sacred Person of our *Prince* encompassed by those, whom we ourselves would have chosen, if it had been left to our Power: And if every thing besides, that you could wish, hath not been hitherto done, you will be but just

to impute it to some powerful, although *unknown* *Impediments*, wherein the Ministry is more to be lamented than blamed. But there is good Reason to hope, from the vigorous Proceedings of the Court; that these *Impediments* will, in a short Time, effectually be removed: And one great Motive to hasten the Removal of them, will, doubtless, be the Reflection upon those dangerous Consequences which had like to have ensued upon not removing them before. Besides, after so plain and formidable a Conviction, That mild and moderate Methods meet with no other Reception or Return, than to serve as Opportunities to the insatiable Malice of an Enemy; Power will awake to vindicate itself, and disarm its Opposers, at least, of all *offensive Weapons*.

CONSIDER, if you please, how hard beset the present Ministry hath been on every Side: By the Impossibility of carrying on the War any longer, without taking the most desperate Courses; or of recovering *Spain* from the House of *Bourbon*, altho' we could continue it many Years longer: By the Clamours of a Faction against any Peace without that Condition, which the most knowing among themselves allowed to be impracticable: By the secret Cabals of foreign Ministers, who have endeavoured to inflame our People, and spirited up a sinking Faction to blast all our Endeavours for Peace, with those popular Reproaches of *France* and the *Pretender*; not to mention the Danger they have been in from private *Insinuations of such a Nature* as it was almost impossible to fence against. These Clouds now begin to blow over, and those who are *at the Helm* will have Leisure to look about them, and complete what yet remains to be done.

THAT

THAT Confederate Body which now makes up the adverse Party, consisteth of an Union so monstrous and unnatural, that, in a little Time, it must of Necessity fall to Pieces. The *Dissenters*, with Reason, think themselves betrayed and sold by their *Brethren*. What they have been told, that the present *Bill* against *Occasional Conformity*, was to prevent a greater Evil, is an Excuse too gross to pass; and if any other profound Refinement were meant, it is now come to nothing. The remaining Sections of the Party have no other Tie, but that of an inveterate Hatred and Rancour against those in Power, without agreeing in any other common Interest, not cemented by Principle or personal Friendship: I speak particularly of their Leaders; and although I know that Court Enmities are as inconstant as its Friendships, yet, from the Difference of Temper and Principle, as well as the Scars remaining of former Animosities. I am persuaded, their League will not be of long Continuance: I know several of them, who will never pardon those with whom they are now in Confederacy; and when once they see the present Ministry thoroughly fixed, they will grow weary of *hunting upon a cold Scent*, or playing a *desperate Game*, and crumble away.

ON the other Side, while the Malice of that Party continues in Vigour, while they yet feel the Bruises of their Fall, which pain them afresh since their late *Disappointment*, they will leave no Arts untried to recover themselves; and it behoves all, who have any Regard for the Safety of the QUEEN, or her Kingdom, to join unanimously against an Adversary, who will return full fraught with Vengeance upon the first Opportunity that shall offer: And this per-

haps is more to be regarded, because that Party seem yet to have a Reserve of Hope, in the *same Quarter from whence their last Reinforcement came*. Neither can any Thing cultivate this Hope of theirs so much as a Disagreement among ourselves, founded upon a Jealousy of the Ministry, who, I think, need no better a Testimony of their good Intentions, than the incessant *Rage* of the *Party-Leaders* against them.

THERE is one Fault, which both Sides are apt to charge upon themselves, and very generously commend their Adversaries for the contrary Virtue. The *Tories* acknowledge, that the *Whigs* out-did them in rewarding their Friends, and adhering to each other: The *Whigs* allow the same to the *Tories*. I am apt to think, that the former may a little excel the latter in this Point; for doubtless the *Tories* are less vindictive of the two; and whoever is remiss in *punishing*, will probably be so in *rewarding*, although, at the same Time, I well remember the Clamours often raised during the Reign of that Party against the Leaders by those who thought their Merits were not rewarded; and they had Reason on their Sides because it is, no doubt, a Misfortune to forfeit *Honour* and *Conscience* for nothing: But, surely, the Case is very different at this Time, when whoever adheres to the Administration, doth Service to God, his Prince, and his Country, as well as contributes to his own private Interest and Safety.

BUT, if the *Whig* Leaders were more grateful in rewarding their Friends, it must be avowed likewise, that the Bulk of them was in general more zealous for the Service of their Party, even when abstracted

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ed from any private Advantage, as might be observed in a thousand Instances; for which I would likewise commend them, if it were not natural for Mankind to be more *violent in an ill Cause* than a good one.

THE perpetual Discord of Factions, with several Changes of late Years in the very Nature of our Government, have controuled many Maxims among us. The *Court and Country Party*, which used to be the old Division, seems now to be ceased, or suspended for *better Times* and *worse Princes*. The QUEEN and Ministry are, at this Time, fully in the true Interest of the Kingdom; and therefore the *Court and Country* are of a Side; and the *Whigs*, who originally were of the latter, are now of neither, but an independent Faction, nursed up by the *Necessities* or *Mistakes* of a late good, *although unexperienced Prince*. *Court and Country* ought therefore to join their Forces against these common Enemies, until they are entirely dispersed and disabled. It is enough to arm ourselves against them, when we consider that the greatest Misfortune which can befall the Nation, are what would most answer their *Interest* and their *Wishes*; a perpetual War increases their Money, breaks and beggars their *Landed Enemies*. The Ruin of the Church would please the *Dissenters*, *Deists*, and *Socinians*, whereof the Body of the Party consists. A *Commonwealth*, or a *Protector*, would gratify the *Republican Principles* of some, and the Ambition of others, among them.

I WOULD infer from hence, that no Discontents of an inferior Nature, such, I mean, as I have already mentioned, should be carried so far as to give any ill Impression of the present Ministry. If all

Things have not been hitherto done as you, *Gentlemen*, could reasonably wish, it can be imputed only to the *secret Instruments* of that Faction. The Truth of this hath appeared from some late Incidents more visibly than formerly. Neither do I believe that any one will now make a Doubt, whether a *certain Person* be in *earnest*, after the united and avowed Endeavours of a whole Party to strike directly at his Head.

WHEN it happens, by some private cross Intrigues, that a great Man hath not the Power which is thought due to his Station, he will, however, probably desire the Reputation of it, without which he neither can preserve the Dignity, nor hardly go through the common Business of his Place; yet is it that Reputation to which he owes all the Envy and Hatred of others, as well as his own Disquiets. Mean Time his expecting Friends impute all their Disappointments to some deep Design, or to his Defect of Good-will; and his Enemies are sure to cry up his Excess of Power, especially in those Points where they are confident it is most shortened. A Minister, in this difficult Case, is sometimes forced to preserve his Credit, by forbearing what *is* in his Power, for fear of discovering how far the Limits extend of what *is not*; or perhaps for fear of shewing an Inclination contrary to that of his Master. Yet all this while he lies under the Reproach of *Delay*, *Unsteadiness*, or *Want of Sincerity*. So that there are many Inconveniences and Dangers, either in discovering, or concealing the Want of Power. Neither is it hard conceive, that Ministers may happen to suffer for the *Sins of their Predecessors*, who, by their great Abuses and Monopolies

polies of Power and Favour, have taught Princes to be more thrifty for the future in the Distribution of both. And as in common Life, whoever hath been long confined, is very fond of his Liberty, and will not easily endure the very Appearance of Restraint, even from those who have been the Instruments of setting him free; so it is with the Recovery of Power which is usually attended with an undistinguished Jealousy, lest it should be again invaded. In such a Juncture, I cannot discover why a wise and honest Man should venture to place himself at the Head of Affairs upon any other Regard than the Safety of his Country, and the Advice of *Socrates*, to prevent an ill Man from coming in.

UPON the whole, I do not see any one Ground of Suspicion or Dislike, which you *Gentlemen*, or others, who wish well to their Country, may have entertained about Persons or Proceedings, but what may probably be misapprehended even by those who think they have the best Information. Nay, I will venture to go one Step farther, by adding, that although it may not be prudent to speak out upon this Occasion; yet, whoever will reason impartially upon the whole State of Affairs, must entirely acquit the Ministry of that Delay and Neutrality which have been laid to their Charge. Or suppose some small Part of this Accusation were true, (which I positively know to be otherwise, whereof the World will soon be convinced) yet the Consequences of any Resentment, at this Time, must either be none at all, or the most fatal that can be imagined; for if the present Ministry be made so uneasy, that a Change be thought necessary, Things will return of Course into the old Hands of those, whose *little Fingers* will

will be found heavier than their Predecessors Loins. The Whig-Faction is so dexterous at Corrupting, and the People so susceptible of it, that you cannot be ignorant how easy it will be, after such a Turn of Affairs, upon a new Election, to procure a Majority against you. They will resume their Power with a Spirit like that of Marius or Sylla, or the last Triumvirate; and those Ministers, who have been most censured for too much Hesitation, will fall the first Sacrifices to their Vengeance; but these are the smallest Mischiefs to be apprehended from such returning Exiles. What Security can a Prince hope for his Person, or his Crown, or even for the Monarchy itself? He must expect to see his best Friends brought to the Scaffold for asserting his Rights; to see his Prerogative trampled on, and his Treasure applied to feed the Avarice of those who make themselves his Keepers; to hear himself treated with Insolence and Contempt; to have his Family purged at Pleasure by their Humour and Malice; and to retain even the Name and Shadow of a King no longer than his Ephori shall think fit.

THESE are the inevitable Consequences of such a Change of Affairs, as that envenomed Party is now projecting, which will best be prevented by your firmly adhering to the present Ministry, until this *Domestick Enemy* is out of all Possibility of making Head any more.

The END of the Seventh Volume.



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